

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF
FRANCIS HOPKINSON

GEORGE E. HASTINGS

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FRANCIS HOPKINSON

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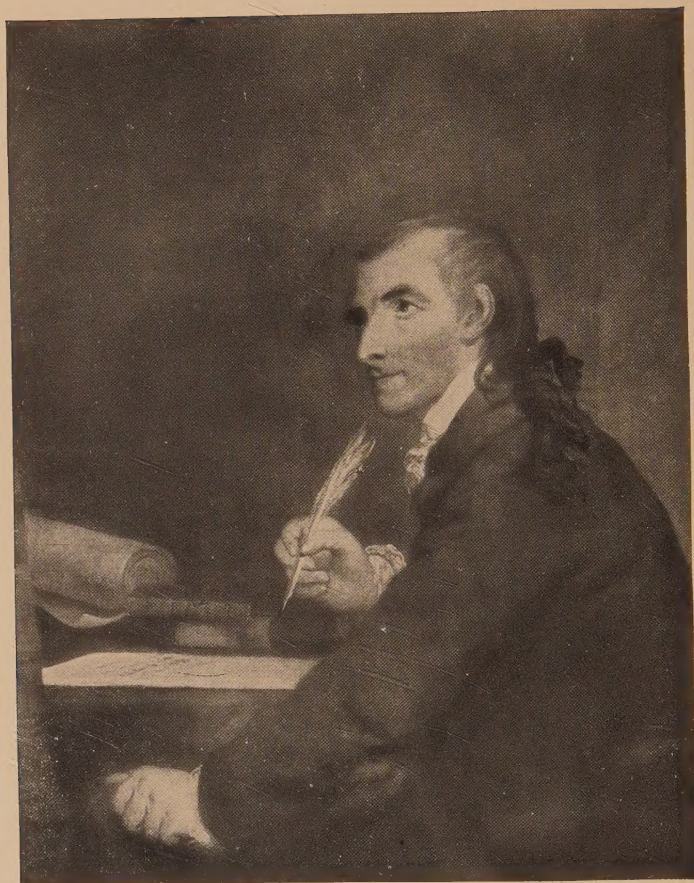
THE BAKER & TAYLOR COMPANY
NEW YORK

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY OF CANADA, LIMITED
TORONTO

THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON

THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA
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By GEORGE EVERETT HASTINGS



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Published December 1926

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DEDICATED TO
MY FATHER AND MOTHER
FRANCIS L. AND MATILDA FULMER HASTINGS

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PREFACE

This biography is a revision of a doctoral thesis written at Harvard University in 1917-18. The subject was suggested by Professor C. N. Greenough, to whom I am indebted for many valuable suggestions and much helpful criticism. Mr. Alexander Pulling, C.B., of Whitestone, near Exeter, England, furnished me the information about the ancestors of Francis Hopkinson embodied in the first chapter. Mrs. Francis Tazewell Redwood, of Baltimore, Mrs. Florence Scovel Shinn, of New York, and Edward Hopkinson, Esq., of Philadelphia, by giving me access to their family papers and by assisting me in every way possible, have contributed information without which the book could never have been written.

Others to whom I am indebted for assistance and to whom I wish here to express my gratitude are the following: Professor Bliss Perry, of Harvard University; Dr. and Mrs. Oliver Hopkinson, of Philadelphia; the late Dr. I. Minis Hays, of the American Philosophical Society; the late Dr. John W. Jordan and Mr. Ernest Spofford, of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Mr. George M. Abbot and Mr. and Mrs. Bunford Samuel, of the Library Company of Philadelphia; Mr. A. P. C. Griffin, the late Dr. Gaillard Hunt, and Mr. J. C. Fitzpatrick, of the Library of Congress; Mr. Clarence Brigham, of the American Antiquarian Society; the Rev. Dr. O. T. Allis, of the Princeton Theological Seminary; Dr. Edmund C. Burnett, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington; John H. Hazelton, Esq., of New York; Mr. Burton Alva Konkle, of Swarthmore, Pennsylvania; Commander Byron McCandless, of the United States Navy; Mrs. Annie Russell Marble,

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of Worcester, Massachusetts; Mr. Albert Matthews, of Boston; Francis Rawle, Esq., of Philadelphia; Miss Gertrude Robson, of the John Carter Brown Library; Mr. O. G. Sonneck, of New York; Mr. George Winship, of the Harvard Library; and Professor Arthur Hobson Quinn, of the University of Pennsylvania.

I remember with deep appreciation the valuable assistance I received from the staff of the Harvard Library while I was writing my thesis. The same helpful courtesy that I found at Harvard I met wherever I went during the progress of my research: in the libraries of Brown, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, and Johns Hopkins universities, of Haverford College, and of the University of Pennsylvania; in the public libraries of Boston, New York, and Baltimore; in the historical societies of Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland; in the Harvard Musical Association, the Boston Athenaeum, the American Antiquarian Society, the American Philosophical Society, the Library Company of Philadelphia, and the Library of Congress.

To mention by name all the persons who have rendered me assistance is impossible, but I cannot close this Preface without acknowledging my obligations to Dr. Albert S. Borgman and Mr. Robert E. Bacon, fellow-students at Harvard, who, though very busy with their own work, took time to read and criticize my thesis. The greatest service of all, however, came from my wife, Mary Rudolph Hastings, who labored with me patiently, sympathetically, and efficiently in the task of revision.

GEORGE EVERETT HASTINGS

1926

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CHAPTER I

ANCESTRY

In his "Translation of a Letter Written by a Foreigner on His Travels"¹ Francis Hopkinson gives an interesting description of the average American. This description follows a portrait of a typical Englishman, a man who manufactures pinheads with great dexterity, but who could not make a whole pin to save his life; who believes in the Athanasian Creed and reverences the splendors of the court; who is sure that London is the finest city in the world and the Thames the largest river in the universe; who is convinced that the British constitution—of which he knows nothing except that it allows him to make pinheads—is a glorious one; and who believes that no one can represent his borough in Parliament but Squire Goose-Cap, whose only qualifications for his office are that he knows the Prime Minister, and that his Lady comes to church every Sunday in a brocaded gown, and sits in a pew lined with green cloth. After drawing this picture the essayist continues:

It is not so in *America*. The lowest tradesman there is not without some degree of general knowledge. They turn their hands to everything; their situation obliges them to do so. A farmer there cannot run to an artist upon every trifling occasion—He must make and mend and contrive for himself. This, I observed in my travels through that country. In many towns, and in every city, they have public libraries. Not a tradesman but will find time to read. He acquires knowledge imperceptibly. He is amused with voyages and travels, and becomes ac-

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings*, I, 98 ff. In the following pages long titles that are repeated frequently in the footnotes are quoted in full only the first time they appear.

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quainted with the geography, customs, and commerce of other countries. He reads political disquisitions, and learns the great out-lines of his rights as a man and as a citizen—He dips a little into philosophy, and knows that the apparent motion of the sun is occasioned by the real motion of the earth—In a word, he is sure that, notwithstanding the determination of king, lords, and commons to the contrary, *two and two can never make five.*

If Hopkinson is right in making versatility the most striking American characteristic, he himself is a truly representative American, for it would be hard to find a character more versatile and many sided than he. During the early years of his career he practiced law, carried on the business of conveyancing, and at the same time kept a shop. Later he entered politics, and held successively the offices of collector of customs at Salem, New Jersey, and New Castle, Pennsylvania; provincial councilor of New Jersey; member of the Continental Congress of 1776; chairman of the board which executed the business of the American navy during the Revolution; treasurer of loans for the United States; judge of admiralty for the state of Pennsylvania; and judge of the United States Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

This list alone would indicate a rather busy life, but Hopkinson found time to do many things besides. He dabbled in science and worked out inventions, all of which were ingenious and some of which were practical; he was a skillful draftsman and a clever maker of pastel portraits; he played the harpsichord and organ well enough to give public performances, and composed music for these favorite instruments; he made a metrical version of the Psalms for church use, composed several hymns, and published a book of songs, in the dedication of which he claims the honor of being the first composer of music in the United

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States; he wrote poems, essays, and political "squibs," as he calls them; and after doing all this he still found time to take an active part in the social, intellectual, and religious life of his city.

Most biographers begin with some account of the ancestors of their subject—a logical and orderly method of procedure, and one that frequently throws light upon details otherwise hard to explain. Unfortunately, the facts about the ancestry of Francis Hopkinson which we actually know are very few, though there are a great many things which we almost know. Mr. Alexander Pulling, C.B.,¹ is the chief—and in fact the only—authority on the Hopkinson genealogy; he has collected an enormous amount of data, but still lacks a few important links necessary to make a connected history. Through his courtesy we are able to summarize briefly the information which he has gathered.

The first Hopkinson of whom Mr. Pulling has found any record is John Hopkynson de Kirnyngton—"Kirnyngton" being evidently a variation in spelling for "Kirming-

¹ Mr. Pulling, whose address is Whitestone House, Whitestone, near Exeter, England, has, at the request of the author, furnished the following autobiographical sketch:

"Mr. Alexander Pulling, C.B., the elder son of the late Elizabeth Hopkinson by her marriage with the late Serjeant Pulling (the last of the old Order of Serjeants at Law), has been for many years collecting materials for a History of the Hopkinson Family. Mr. Alexander Pulling, who is a Barrister-at-law, has been for the last 30 years exclusively engaged in work for the British Government. In 1912 his services in Statute Law reform were rewarded by a Companionship of the Bath, and since Great Britain declared war in 1914, Mr. Pulling has been Editor for that Government of the whole of the official 'Manuals of Emergency Legislation.' The calls of this and other official duties have compelled Mr. Pulling to put aside all antiquarian and similar pursuits, but he hopes in times of peace to complete his History, which will embrace the various branches of the Hopkinson Family who came from Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire, and later from London. Mr. Pulling's own branch of the family and that of Francis Hopkinson sprang from the same stock."

This note was prepared in 1918. For a more complete account of Mr. Pulling's life and work the reader is referred to *Who's Who*.

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ton," a parish in the extreme north of Lincolnshire—who was born about 1420, became a freeman of York in 1469-70, and followed the business of chapman.¹ In 1473, a second John Hopkynson de Kirnyngton, who is listed as a "corne chapman," became a freeman of York;² Mr. Pulling thinks he was a son of the first John Hopkynson, and that he was born about 1440. In the court records of Lincoln, Mr. Pulling found the name of one George Hopkinson, whose will was proved in 1505, and who is therein described as "of Kirmington." A comparison of dates indicates that George Hopkinson and the second John Hopkynson were contemporaries, and therefore probably brothers or cousins. At any rate, there can be little doubt that they were of the same family, for from this time on the "Hopkynsons" disappear, while the "Hopkinsons" continue in unbroken line down to the present day, with branches at Boston, Mablethorpe, Alford, Burton-Coggles, and Castle Bytham in Lincolnshire; at Lofthouse and Ripon in Yorkshire; at Sutton in Northamptonshire; and at Bonsal, Wirksworth, and Arkover in Derbyshire. Of all these divisions of the family Mr. Pulling has traced the relationship and made detailed genealogical tables.

The early Hopkinsons were substantial citizens and property-owners, but only one of them, so far as we know, showed any literary tendencies. This was John Hopkinson, of Lofthouse, known as "The Antiquary," who lived from 1611 to 1680, and who made a famous collection of eighty or more volumes of manuscripts and other documents, consisting of surveys, grants, deeds, tenures, inquisitions, sessions proceedings, letters, and pedigrees. Forty-three vol-

¹ *Publications of the Surtees Society*, XCVI; "Register of the Freemen of the City of York," I, 190.

² "Register of the Freemen," I, 194.

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umes of this collection were inherited by Miss Frances Mary Richardson-Currer, of North Bierly, a descendant of Jane Hopkinson, a sister of "The Antiquary," who married Richard Richardson.¹ About an equal number of volumes of the John Hopkinson collection were in 1817 owned by John Henry Smith, Esq., member of Parliament for Cambridge University, who was also a descendant of Jane Richardson. An examination of the catalogue given by Nichols shows that Hopkinson was strictly a collector and antiquarian, and not an original writer.

The first serious break in the record comes between the Lincolnshire and London branches. Many members of the Lincoln family drop out of the county records without leaving any trace behind them, and it is of course quite possible that one or more of them went to London. Such a one is John Hopkinson, seventh in descent from John of Kirmington, who was living in 1634, when he was described as the "sonne and heire apparent" of John of Alford. Another is William, also seventh in descent from the head of the line, of whom we know nothing except that he was a son of Thomas of Mablethorpe and a nephew of John, a barrister of Alford and Boston, whose will (proved at Lincoln in 1644) names him as a legatee. Of these two possible founders of the London branch, Mr. Pulling is inclined to choose William as the more likely, though he has been unable to find any evidence that is at all conclusive.

The first London Hopkinson of whom any record has been found was James, born about 1600, concerning whom Mr. Pulling gives the following account:

¹ For a catalogue of this part of the collection see John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, I, 253-58.

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James Hopkinson was Wagon-Master General¹ for the Northern Association, and took part in July, 1645, in the capture by the Commonwealth forces of Pontefract [Pomfret?] and Scarborough Castles. On July 28, 1645 (when his wife Anne was also living) he wrote the following letter to his son Thomas, who is therein described in the heading thereto as "a gentleman of note living in the Old Jury [*sic*]."

"Sonne Thomas, I pray God Blesse you and keep you in all your actions. These are to let you understand, I received your letters dated the 15th of this instant & 2 books for which I thank you: also since another letter dated the 17th of this instant. For newes here after so long & tedious a siege, it pleased God to deliver Pontefract Castle into our hands upon Monday last, I was in it myselfe on Tuesday & truly it is a very strong hold; if they had but provision it had been impossible to have taken it. The enemy was to march to Newark with Drums & Colours & 200 Muskettiers but no officer to have more than was really their owne, to carry no more than is portable; there is great riches left therein; and Generall Poynz took this course, hee sent the enemies with a strong guard & appointed one Captaine or officer to every Rigiment to keep the Castle & to prize all things in it & so to be sold & the owners of any goods that is in it to have the first proffer; & so himself drew off all the rest of the armie that night & marched to Sandall Castle & sum-

¹ The duties of the wagon-master general are explained in the following letter written to Mr. Pulling by the Hon. John Willaim Fortescue, king's librarian, and the author of *A History of the British Army*:

"WINDSOR CASTLE.
18th. Dec. 1917.

"DEAR SIR,

"The Wagon Master General of an Association was the officer responsible for the wheeled transport which attended the troops of all kinds belonging to the Association—responsible, that is, for bringing up to the troops the provisions, forage, baggage, clothing, ammunition, &c. &c., which they needed, and for supplying the wagons, teams and drivers necessary for the purpose. The said wagons, teams and drivers were impressed or hired, or compulsorily hired; and the business of the Wagon Master General was consequently very important and often very difficult.

"His work is now done by the Army Service Corps; but there is this great difference between the Army Service Corps and the old Wagon Master's Department—that the Army Service Corps is responsible for providing both the wagon and its load—for procuring the food and bringing on to the mouth—whereas the Wagon Master was responsible for the wagon, team and driver only, the duty of furnishing the food (the load) lying with others.

"Yours faithfully,
J. W. FORTESCUE"

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moned it, but they are very stiffe & will not yeeld it, so I carried three battering pieces to it & am about sending more to beat it about their ears: Also this day is Scarborough Castle yeilded. I have sent you enclosed the copie of the article verbatim, so I will send no more of that but referre you to them. God knows they have been troublesome pieces of work, I am sure they have made me many an ill nights work, & day & now we are for the Castles, so that my paines & care is never at an end, the Lord enable me to goe through it, as He has wonderfully done hitherto, his holy name be praised for it.

"I would desire you to send me down a pot of salve for my legge, for healing and cleansing of it & you shall heare more of the effect afterwards. Thus being glad to heare of your health & welfare, being the onely joy your mother & I hath in this world, with our praiers to God to continue his blessing upon you & us all, desiring to heare from you by the next post.

"I rest your ever loving Father, till death.

J. A. HOPKINSON"¹

James Hopkinson died before April 29, 1658, for on that date Anne Hopkinson, "distressed widow of James Hopkinson, Wagon Master General for the Northern Association," petitioned the council for money due to her late husband,² and on April 11, 1760, received £10.³

The wagon-master general left two sons: John, who died before 1667,⁴ and Thomas, the recipient of the letter just quoted, who was born about 1630 and died in 1665. The latter lived in the parish of St. Olave, Jewry, where he followed the business of an apothecary; on December 18, 1650, he petitioned to be allowed to furnish medicaments to the army, and during the next three years warrants were

¹ Taken from "The Copie of a letter from Ma Generall Poinz his quarters, of the taking of Scarbro, etc." in a collection of pamphlets in the British Museum A^o 1645 E 294 embossed No. 218.

² *State Papers Domestic*, Vol. CLXXX, No. 29.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 108.

⁴ Mr. Pulling has found a record of his will, by which administration of his effects was granted to his brother Thomas.

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issued for the payment of various sums due to him.¹ Little more is known of him except that his wife's name was Alice,² that just before his death he made a will by which he left his estate to his son Matthew, and that he and his wife and his brother John are all buried at Poplar Chapel.³

Concerning the life of Matthew, the heir of Thomas, Mr. Pulling has gathered the following fragments of information. He was under age when his father's will was made in 1665.⁴ He lived in a house on the north side of Great Marlborough Street in the parish of St. James, Westminster, and owned another house in the Barbicon. A scrivener by occupation, and a "gentleman of the Middle Temple,"⁵ he has left numerous records of real estate transactions, the latest of which is a deed dated October 17, 1709. His death occurred sometime between this date and December 6, 1710, when his will was registered by his son, Matthew Hopkinson, who is described as of St. Anne Parish. In addition to Matthew, mentioned above, he left two other sons, Thomas and Isaac.

Matthew Hopkinson II, born about 1678, was also a scrivener of the parish of St. James, Westminster. By his wife Hannah (surname unknown) he had four children: Judith, James, Joshua, and Thomas. Matthew evidently

¹ *State Papers Domestic*, Vol. XI, No. 13.

² Mr. Pulling has found her will also; she seems to have outlived her son as she left her property to other relatives.

³ Alice Hopkinson's will (*Commissary of London Court*, 1706-7) directs "that she be buried in the tomb of her late husband, Thomas Hopkinson, in Poplar Churchyard. . . . Stow states (Survey by Seymour, Book VI, chap. vi, p. 84)—'In the Middle Isle of Poplar Chapel these persons lie buried under flat stones with inscriptions:—Thomas Hopkinson 1679, and John his brother, and Alice his wife.'"—Mr. Pulling's notes.

⁴ "I give to my son Matthew Hopkinson all my estate, but in case my son dies before he comes of the age of 21, I give my estate to Mr. William Angell." William Angell, who was executor of the will, was Matthew Hopkinson's schoolmaster.—Mr. Pulling's notes, quoting from "*Pye*, 133."

⁵ He is so described in deeds of 1706 and 1709.

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outlived all his children,¹ for in his will, dated July 20, 1720, and proved in 1723, he divides his property among two cousins, to whom he left fifty pounds each; his nephew Thomas, to whom he left houses in Market Lane near St. James Market, and freeholds at Brooke Hill in the parish of Harrow-on-the-Hill, in Edward Street (St. James Parish), and in Blenheim Street; and his widow, whom he charged with the care of "my poor brother Isaac."² The family probably spent their last years in Paddington, as they are buried in Paddington Churchyard.

Of Isaac, the second son of Matthew I, we have no information except the note in his brother's will. Thomas, the third son, who was born about 1678, was also a scrivener, and like his father and brother was engaged in many land transactions. On May 6, 1708, he married Mary Nicholls, of the parish of St. James, Westminster;³ and to them was born a son, Thomas, who was baptized on April 10, 1709, and who later came to America and became the father of Francis, the subject of this biography.⁴ It is practically certain that the Thomas who came to America is the same who was mentioned so generously in the will of his uncle, Matthew II. The best evidence for this statement is the fact that no other nephew named Thomas has been discovered; a bit of circumstantial evidence is the fact that Francis Hopkinson, while in England in 1766, visited

¹ A note made by Francis Hopkinson during his visit to England in 1766 states that Judith died in 1708, Thomas in 1713, James in 1714, and Matthew on August 4, 1723, in the forty-fifth year of his age.

² Mr. Pulling's notes, quoting from "*Richmond*, 167."

³ Parish register. Thomas is described as being of St. Anne Parish.

⁴ Mr. Pulling found the date of Thomas Hopkinson's baptism in the St. James Parish register. The Hopkinson family Bible, owned by Edward Hopkinson, Esq., of Philadelphia, gives the date of the birth of Thomas Hopkinson, father of Francis, as April 6, 1709, and thus identifies him with Thomas of St. James Parish.

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Matthew's grave.¹ Of the other children of Thomas I our information is not quite so definite, but Mr. Pulling thinks they were three in number: Francis, of Thorne, Yorkshire, who married Dorothy Harrison, a widow, of Newark-upon-Trent, and probably died without issue; Catherine, who married Joseph Maleham, of Portland Street; and John, who was the great-great-grandfather of Alexander Pulling.

In Mr. Pulling's studies, briefly summarized in the preceding pages, the descent of the American family from James Hopkinson, wagon-master general of the Northern Division, seems to be fully established.² There is, however, a Hopkinson family tradition which does not support Mr. Pulling's findings. Some years ago Edward Hopkinson, Esq., of Philadelphia,³ came into possession of a letter written in 1878 by Morton P. Stelle, of New York, to his mother, who was a granddaughter of Francis Hopkinson. In this letter the writer tells of having met a man named Hopkinson from Alfreton, Derbyshire, who asserted that he was a grandnephew of Thomas Hopkinson. According to this man's story, Thomas Hopkinson migrated to America from Derbyshire, where he left two brothers. Moreover, the Englishman said that the Derbyshire Hopkinsons had a tradition that Francis had visited them while he was in England and had given them his picture, which they still possessed. Mr. Edward Hopkinson sent a copy of Morton

¹ See p. 139.

² Mr. Pulling worked on this problem for many years before he was able to solve it to his own satisfaction. On July 13, 1922, however, he wrote to the author: "I have carried my examination sufficiently far to make the pedigree of the Signer, I think, quite certain."

³ Edward Hopkinson, Esq., whose name will appear many times in these pages, is a great-grandson of Francis Hopkinson. By allowing me to use his valuable collection of books and manuscripts, and by giving me his personal assistance on many difficult points, he has contributed very materially to this biography.

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Stelle's letter to Mr. Pulling, who tried to verify the statements made in it, but without success. He found records of many Hopkinsons who had lived in Derbyshire: the first, named John, was born at Bonsal about 1400; the last, also named John, "ran through his property and ended the Derbyshire connection" about 1750. He was unable to find the link between the Derbyshire Hopkinsons and his own family or between them and the Hopkinsons of America. That a link existed, however, is proved by the fact that the Hopkinsons of Derbyshire had the same arms as those of London and America.

Two other traditions concerning the founder of the American family, both of which have been repeated in most of the sketches of his life,¹ have fared badly under Mr. Pulling's investigation. One of these is that his father was a London merchant. Mr. Pulling, in order to determine whether Thomas Hopkinson I was a merchant as well as a scrivener, has searched the Guild Hall and other London libraries for some reference to a merchant named Thomas Hopkinson living in London in 1709, but he has found none. The second tradition is that Thomas Hopkinson II attended Oxford, but was not graduated. Here again careful search reveals no trace of him. Therefore we know nothing of the details of his life from the day of his baptism in 1709 until 1731, when we find him in the city of Philadelphia engaged in the practice of law.

The biographers of Thomas Hopkinson have chosen 1731 as the date of his arrival in Philadelphia, because it was in this year that he made his first appearance in local affairs. Sometime before this, Franklin's famous Junto had organized the Library Company—the first circulating li-

¹ See, for example, Charles P. Keith, *Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania*, pp 265 ff. This is one of the best sketches of Thomas Hopkinson.

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brary in America. In the beginning each member brought to the club such books as he cared to donate from his own private collection. Since the number of books secured in this way was not very great, Franklin began to cast about for a more practical scheme, and finally decided on the following:

Finding the advantage of this little collection, I propos'd to render the benefit from books more common, by commencing a public subscription library. I drew a sketch of the plan and rules that would be necessary, and got a skilful conveyancer, Mr. Charles Brockden, to put the whole in the form of articles of agreement to be subscribed, by which each subscriber engag'd to pay a certain sum down for the first purchase of books, and an annual contribution for increasing them. So few were the readers at that time in Philadelphia, and the majority of us so poor, that I was not able, with great industry, to find more than fifty persons, mostly young tradesmen, willing to pay down for this purpose forty shillings each, and ten shillings each per annum. On this little fund we began.¹

The date of this instrument was July 1, 1736. The second subscriber was Thomas Hopkinson, who was present at the first meeting of the Library Company, held on November 8, 1731, and who served on the first Board of Directors.² At a meeting of the company held on March 31, 1732, "a Bill of Forty Five Pounds Sterling, on Peter Collinson, Mercer in Gracious Street, London, payable to Thomas Hopkinson, together with a list of the books wanted, was sent to Mr. Hopkinson."³ From all this it is evident that if Hopkinson did not come to Philadelphia until 1731, his

¹ From Franklin's *Autobiography*. See *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (ed. Albert Henry Smyth), II, 321-23.

² Parts of the original minutes of the Library Company, preserved in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, show that he was a director on March 14, 1733-34, and on May 5, 1746. It is probable that he served on the board continuously from the organization of the company to his death. See *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXVIII, 374, and XXXIX, 450.

³ G. M. Abbot, *A Short History of the Library Company of Philadelphia*, pp. 4-5.

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advance to a position of prominence was very rapid; on the other hand, if he was born in 1709 and arrived in America a full-fledged barrister, he could not have come much before 1731. About 1730, then, would perhaps be a reasonable compromise.

According to Thomas Westcott, the author of *Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia*, Hopkinson was appointed purchaser of books for the library in the spring of 1732 because he was going back to London during the following summer. Whether this surmise is correct or not, it is certain that Hopkinson was in Philadelphia on November 23 of that same year, when he defended one Jacob Reiff in a suit brought against the latter by the German Reformed church.¹

According to a biographical sketch in Dr. John W. Jordan's *Colonial Families of Philadelphia*,² Thomas Hopkinson became master of rolls for the province of Pennsylvania on June 20, 1736, and held this office until 1741. This statement is supported by the *Pennsylvania Archives*,³ in which appears the following list of masters of rolls from 1722 to 1767, with the dates of their appointments:

Charles Brockden.....	—, 1722
Andrew Hamilton.....	June 12, 1727
Thomas Hopkinson.....	June 20, 1736
William Allen.....	Aug. 7, 1741
Tench Francis.....	Oct. 2, 1750
Benjamin Chew.....	Aug. 29, 1755
William Parr.....	Sept. 26, 1767
Andrew Allen.....	June 25, 1774

¹ See C. R. Hildeburn's sketch of Francis Hopkinson in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 314, and William Henry Rawle's *Equity in Pennsylvania*, Appendix, p. 33. Other records of Hopkinson's early law practice are a lease drawn by him on November 12, 1734, and a bond dated August 11, 1735, both owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; the first is in the *Society Collection*, and the second in the *Dreer Collection of American Lawyers*.

² II, 1190.

³ (2d series), IX, 628.

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The historians Scharf and Westcott, however, would make some very radical changes in this list, which they criticize as follows:

The list of masters of rolls printed in 9 Pa. Archives, 628 (2nd series), is very imperfect and incorrect, for it is a matter of history that Charles Brockden was made recorder of deeds of the county of Philadelphia by the act of May 28, 1715, and at the same time appointed master of rolls, and that he held those offices for over fifty-two years, and until his retirement in 1767, so that Andrew Hamilton, Thomas Hopkinson, William Allen, Tench Francis, and Benjamin Chew never were masters of rolls, nor did Andrew Allen ever hold such a position.¹ This correction seems to be verified by this memorandum of the Provincial Council, made on September 28, 1767:

Mr. Charles Brockden, being rendered, by his Age and Infirmities, incapable of executing any longer the Office of Master of the Rolls for the Province, the Governor thought it proper to remove him, and was pleased to appoint William Parr, Esquire, to the said Office, in his Room, by a Commission under the Great Seal of the Province.²

The author, having exhausted his own resources in trying to solve the puzzle, appealed for help to Dr. Jordan, who replied:

Last week I visited Harrisburg and instituted a search relating to Thomas Hopkinson as Master of the Rolls in 1736, the result of which please find enclosed. The data for the Hopkinson sketch were furnished by the family. . . .

The inclosure is given below:

PENNSYLVANIA STATE LIBRARY,
HARRISBURG, Jan. 10, 1918.

*Dr. John W. Jordan,
The Historical Society of Penna.,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.*

MY DEAR DR. JORDAN:

Your communication of the 7th inst. addressed to Hon. Cyrus E. Woods has been referred to this Department for consideration and reply.

¹ *History of Philadelphia*, III, 1738-39.

² *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, IX, 397.

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I am sorry to advise you that I am unable to find any data recorded to confirm the appointment of Thomas Hopkinson as Master of Rolls, June 20, 1736, but do find recorded in the Executive Minutes a Thomas Hopkinson appointed Clerk of the Orphans Court of the City and County of Philadelphia, January 20, 1736.

Very sincerely yours,

H. H. SHENK

Custodian of Public Records

The fact that Dr. Jordan received his data from the Hopkinson family would at first appear significant, but the family of today have neither documents nor traditions that throw any light upon the problem. It therefore is probable that Dr. Jordan's informant derived his information from the *Pennsylvania Archives*, which, according to all evidence available, is in error.

Thomas Hopkinson's appointment to the office of clerk of the Orphans' Court is thus described in the minutes of the Provincial Council for January 20, 1736-37:

A Petition of Thomas Hopkinson being presented to the Board, praying that the Office of Clerk of the Orphans' Court for the City & County of Philadelphia, now vacant by the Death of Charles Read, Esq^r, to whom the Petitioner for several years had been Deputy, may be conferred on him, he being acquainted with the Records & Forms of Proceedings of the s^d Court. The Board approving of the Petitioner, a Commission is ordered to be issued to him for the said Office.¹

This office he held until his death in 1751.

Edward Hopkinson, Esq., has considerable correspondence of his great-great-grandfather, which shows that for several years after his coming to America Thomas Hopkinson was agent for a number of London firms. One of his chief correspondents was Daniel Flexner, a Quaker, who on May 3, 1736, sent him this quaint letter:

I have been much inquired off relating to thy Character & Conduct by Severall but more particularly by Jn^o Bell & H. Hill to whom I gave

¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 151-52.

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so pleasing & satisfactory acco^t, that if thou continues to deserve it & they live thou mayest depend on a considerable advantage will accrue to thee both from their own Business & others they will recommend as well as myself, I hope thou wilt confirm the good opinion I have of thee & the Character I have given thee by convincing Evidence of Facts w^h thou hast in thy power to give me who am Sincerely thy well wishing Friend.

A letter of Hopkinson to Flexner, written just previous to this, indicates the nature of some of this business, and at the same time reveals an agreeable trait in Hopkinson's own character:

The people are very poor w^{ch} has inclined me to forbear with some of them but shall now use another Method. I shall stick close to them this spring and get in all that can be got and remitt you the money immediately.¹

"In September, 1736," says Charles R. Hildeburn, the Philadelphia bibliographer, in a pregnant sentence, "he [Thomas Hopkinson] was married by the Rev. Dr. Jenney, Rector of Christ Church, to Miss Mary Johnson, the only daughter of Baldwin Johnson, by his wife Mary, widow of Col. William Dyer of New Castle Co."² This young lady was, like her husband, a member of an interesting and distinguished family, of whom we have a record running back to the beginning of the seventeenth century.³

The first name to appear in this record is that of John Johnston, of Annandale, Scotland, who came to England in 1603 in the suite of James I. He settled in Wiltshire, where he left four sons—George, James, William, and Rob-

¹ Letter of March 22, 1736, in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

² *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 314. The exact date, according to the record in the family Bible, was September 9.

³ Walter Money, F.S.A., *The Family of James Johnson, Successively Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester*. On the title-page of this pamphlet we are informed that it is "reprinted, with corrections and emendations, from the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archeological Society*, Vol. VIII, Part II."

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ert. Of the sons of John Johnston the most prominent was William, who married Elizabeth Hyde, daughter of Henry Hyde, and sister of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon and Lord Chancellor of England. To this marriage were born a daughter, Anne, and six sons—George, Robert, William, Richard, Thomas, and Benjamin. William Johnston and his eldest son, George, purchased in Wiltshire an estate known as Bowden Park, which descended to the son on the death of the father in 1663. William Johnston's portrait, painted by Sir Peter Lely, is still in the possession of descendants of his who live at Hinton Blewett.

George Johnson, who seems to have been the first of the family to drop the *t* out of his name,¹ was born at Laycock about 1620. He was admitted to the Middle Temple on May 2, 1645, and was called to the bar on November 4, 1654. He married Mary, daughter of James D'Oyle (or D'Ceiles), "of Flanders," and to them was born an astonishing family of nine sons—George, William, Robert, Baldwin, Edward, James, Thomas, Richard, and Henry; and six daughters—Anne (who evidently died in infancy), Catherine, Frances, Lucy, a second Anne, and Elizabeth. On July 3, 1677, he became a sergeant at law, and on August 15, 1677, he was granted by Charles II the reversion of the office of master of the rolls, which office was at that time held by Sir Harebottle Grimson. He was so proud of this honor that he had Robert Walker, painter to Cromwell, make his portrait, in which he is represented as holding in his hand the patent of reversion.² He never succeeded to this office, however, as his death, on May 28,

¹ His name—spelled "Johnson"—and coat-of-arms appear in the window of the Middle Temple Hall.

² The portrait is mentioned in a letter of the Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Hinton Blewett, written in 1815.

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1683, occurred two years before that of Sir Harebottle Grimson.¹

George, the eldest son of George Johnson, inherited the Bowden estate, on which his father had built a new house. At his death in 1712 he left the property to his son George, who later was obliged to sell it because of financial difficulties brought on by litigation and bad management.

James, the sixth son, had a son of the same name, born in 1705, who had a rather remarkable career. After receiving his preliminary training at Westminster School, he entered Christ Church, Oxford, from which he was graduated B.A. in 1728 and M.A. in 1731. Entering holy orders, he served as second master of Westminster School from 1733 to 1738, and as rector of Berkhamstead, Hertfordshire, from 1743 to 1747. In 1742 he received from Christ Church the degrees B.D. and D.D. In 1748 he was appointed King's Chaplain in Ordinary to George II, with whom he made two trips to the Continent. He would probably have been made preceptor of George III had it not been for the objections of the Whigs, who questioned his loyalty to the House of Hanover. The specific charge that they brought against him was that he had on one occasion drunk the health of the Pretender. He succeeded in disproving the charge and also in retaining the royal favor, for in 1752 he

¹ The information about George Johnson is from Walter Money's genealogical work, from Charles P. Keith, *Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania*, and from manuscripts in the collection of Mr. Edward Hopkinson. In 1765, when Franklin was in England, Mary Johnson Hopkinson asked him to try to find out some particulars about her family, of whom she seems to have known little or nothing. He turned the work of investigation over to James Burrow, vice-president of the Royal Society and master of the Crown Office in the King's Bench, who was obliging enough to gather the information desired. Strangely enough, the main part of the record is lost, while some of Burrow's rough notes, which Franklin inclosed with his letter, have been preserved.

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was elevated to the see of Gloucester, and seven years later was translated to the see of Worcester. Having abundant private means, he improved and embellished Hartlebury Castle, the country palace of the diocese, and also spent a large sum on the episcopal palace at Worcester. During the troubles between England and the Colonies he was emphatically against the latter. His death, brought about by a fall from a horse, occurred at Bath on November 14, 1774; he was buried with his ancestors at Laycock, Wiltshire. Conspicuous traits of the Bishop's character were his hospitality and his generosity to his relatives.¹ In 1766 Francis Hopkinson paid him a visit, which is the subject of the fourth chapter of this work.

Baldwin, the fourth son, was born at Laycock, where he was baptized on October 25, 1672.² For a time he was a merchant of Bristol,³ but a roving disposition led him while still a young man to emigrate to America. He settled first on the island of Antigua in the West Indies, where he acquired a considerable amount of property; thence he migrated, about 1713 or 1714, to Maryland, where he married Mary Dyer, widow of Colonel William Dyer;⁴ and finally he moved to Philadelphia.⁵ To Baldwin and Mary Johnson there was born on August 4, 1718, a daugh-

¹ His kindness to his family is mentioned in a letter written to Mary Johnson Hopkinson on June 14, 1766, by Sarah Johnson, the Bishop's sister. This letter, which is in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq., contains many items of family history, among which is an account of the loss of the Bowden estate.

² Parish record.

³ Walter Money, F.S.A., *The Family of James Johnson, Successively Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester*.

⁴ An affidavit dated August 26, 1769, signed by Samuel Kirke; owned by Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

⁵ Notes made for Mrs. Mary Hopkinson on July 26, 1765, by James Burrow; in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

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ter, who was named Mary, and who later became the wife of Thomas Hopkinson.¹

There is a tradition in the Hopkinson family that Mary Johnson Hopkinson was left an orphan while very young, and that her guardians mismanaged her father's property in Antigua—probably to their own advantage. Whether this is true or not, the estate was involved in difficulties up to the time of the Revolution, when it was probably lost. In 1775, when Dr. John Morgan was with the American army at Cambridge, his wife Mary, a daughter of Mary Hopkinson, wrote to her sister, Mrs. Duché, that Mr. Burke, attorney for the Johnson estate in Antigua, had been brought to Boston as a prisoner, on a British ship that had been captured by the Americans.² A few days later she wrote to her mother that she and her husband had obtained permission to give Mr. Burke a room at their house. "We often talk over our claim in Antigua," she continues; "he declares he took uncommon pains but despairs of your ever obtaining your rights as there is no possibility of finding out the boundaries of your land."³

The fact that his wife owned valuable property in Antigua made it necessary for Thomas Hopkinson after his marriage to write a great many letters to persons living on that island. Three of these—Richard Oliver, Roland Oliver, and John Abbott—were at various times agents for

¹ Record in the Hopkinson family Bible. There was also a son named Edward, who died young. His name is given in the affidavit of Samuel Kirke; his death is mentioned in a letter dated June 23, 1740, from Thomas Hopkinson to Nathaniel French. All these documents are in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

² Letter of December, 1775, from Mary Morgan to Elizabeth Duché; in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

³ Letter of December 31, 1775, in the collection of Mrs. Francis Tazewell Redwood, of Baltimore; a direct descendant of Thomas Hopkinson. I am under the deepest obligations to her for the privilege of examining her valuable manuscripts and for the generous help she has given me on many occasions.

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the Johnson estate; his correspondence with them deals with the securing of tenants, the collection of rent, the establishment of boundaries, the quieting of titles, and the shipment of sugar and rum to Philadelphia. The rent seems to have been paid usually in the last-named commodities, though the payment of money is also mentioned.¹

Another of Hopkinson's West Indian correspondents was Nathaniel French, apparently a merchant, with whom he carried on an extensive business. Both were part owners in an ironworks in Pennsylvania, from which Hopkinson shipped many cargoes of bar iron to Antigua. Iron was not the only commodity in which they dealt, for a shipment of merchandise listed by Hopkinson in a letter written on December 9, 1736, includes the following curious items: several pictures, a microscope, a glass lamp, a marble table, a "Book of the Hours," and seventy planks of two-inch white cedar. The correspondence contains a number of references to the Johnson estate, for which French apparently was seeking a buyer. A letter of Hopkinson's written on June 23, 1740, refers to an offer of two thousand guineas that French had received for the property, and mentions the fact that Mrs. Hopkinson was at that time sole owner of the estate, since her brother had died. In a letter written on June 30, 1741, Hopkinson offers to sell the land for twenty-two hundred guineas. A letter from French written on February 15, 1739, shows that business in those days sometimes involved curious details:

Tho^s Sobers wrote me that you rec^d a negro of mine from Madiera [*sic*] named Sharper and that you sold him for 25£ which I am very sorry for as he would have been of considerable Service to me here being an

¹ A letter from Hopkinson to Nathaniel French, June 23, 1740, mentions the fact that Richard Oliver advanced Hopkinson considerable sums before the latter's wife came of age.

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able handy Fellow. I was once offered in Philadelph^a 40£ for him, but when I found him Roguishly inclin'd I broke of [*sic*] the Bargain my self as I had given him a good Character before.¹

During the last ten years of his life Thomas Hopkinson became more and more active in politics. On October 6, 1741, he was elected a member of the Common Council of Philadelphia;² on January 17, 1744-45,³ he succeeded Andrew Hamilton as judge of the vice-admiralty for the province; and on May 13, 1747, he became a member of the Provincial Council. The record of his appointment to the last office is quaintly preserved in the *Minutes of the Provincial Council*. Lieutenant-Governor George Thomas, being about to sail for England, reminded the council that he had some time previously intimated his determination to increase their membership, and announced that he was now ready to make the expected appointments.

He assured them it had given him no small concern, & he had taken all the pains he was Master of to find Gentlemen equal & willing to accept, and after long consideration he had thought of Mr. Joseph Turner, Mr. Lawrence Growden, and Mr. Thomas Hopkinson, and had taken measures previously to know their Inclinations, the two last were willing, but Mr. Turner had not yet come to a determination. He therefore named these three Gentlemen to be of the Council if they had no just objection to them. And each member being separately ask'd his opinion expressed his Approbation of the Governor's Choice; and the Secretary was directed to inform them of their Call, to the Board, & to take care that they shou'd be summoned to the next Council.⁴

¹ The letters from Hopkinson's Antigua correspondents and copies of his replies are in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

² F. W. Leach, *North American*, Philadelphia, January 12, 1908.

³ *Pennsylvania Archives* (2d series), Vol. IX, p. 632. The date 1741 commonly given for his appointment is an error. Andrew Hamilton died on August 4, 1741, but owing to a quarrel that was being waged between the colony and the proprietaries at that time, his successor was not appointed until more than two years later. For this information I am indebted to the late Dr. John W. Jordan, librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁴ *Minutes of the Provincial Council*, V, 65.

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Hopkinson retained this office during the rest of his life, and attended council meetings regularly up to June 29, 1751, five months before his death.¹ On July 19, 1748, he and three other members of the council went to Lancaster, where they met "Fifty-five Indians of several Nations, viz.: of the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawonese, Nanticoques, and Twightwees," and made with them a treaty of friendship and alliance. The story of the conference, which proceeded with grave ceremonial and the proper exchange of wampum belts and smoking calumets, is admirably told in the *Colonial Records*. There the student will find excellent examples of savage oratory, and the lover of Indian tales will meet some familiar names, notably those of Andrew Montour and Scarrowyady.²

The council of this frontier province were believers in preparedness: on April 7, 1748, several years before the outbreak of the French and Indian War, Hopkinson wrote to Nathaniel French that they had formed an association of ten thousand men for the protection of the city. They had a force of well-disciplined troops for defense by land, and a man-of-war and two batteries of twenty large "battering cannon" each, to meet any attack from the river.³ That this zeal for home defense was regarded with some suspicion in England is indicated by the fact that on July 30, 1748, the council sent to the proprietaries a petition containing a statement that the colonists had been given permission to unite under arms for the purpose of self-protection only, and that there had been no attempt to usurp His Majesty's prerogatives.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 65 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 298 ff.

³ This letter is in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

⁴ This petition is among the *Pennsylvania Manuscript Petitions* owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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Thomas Hopkinson held many public offices, even for those days when a man's executive powers seem to have been considered infinite; nevertheless, if we may accept the oft-repeated statements of so eminent authority as Benjamin Franklin,¹ he administered them all with great ability and high integrity. On November 24, 1748, he was commissioned prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia, to succeed James Hamilton, under whom he had served as deputy.² On June 30 of the next year he became justice of the Court of Common Pleas, Quarter Sessions of the Peace, and Orphans' Court for the City and County of Philadelphia.³ And finally, as his last important appointment, he served on the commission which met in the fall of 1750 to settle the boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland.⁴

In attempting to date Thomas Hopkinson's arrival in America, we have referred to his connection with Franklin's Junto. This famous club, which began as early as 1727, was probably the same organization that on December 13, 1766, became The American Society for Promoting and Propagating Useful Knowledge, Held in Philadelphia.⁵ In 1743 Franklin established a second society, the

¹ See pp. 26, 28, 120, and 277.

² John W. Jordan, *Colonial Families of Philadelphia*, II, 1190. Hopkinson held this office until the end of his life.

³ J. T. Scharf and T. Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, II, 1563. Edward Hopkinson, Esq., has a summons issued from this court by Thomas Hopkinson on March 8, 1751.

⁴ The reports of this commission are preserved in the *Penn Papers* and *Peters Papers* of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. See article by John W. Jordan, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXVIII, 385 ff.

⁵ For a full discussion as to whether the American Society was a continuation of Franklin's Junto or of a Junior Junto established in 1750 by William Franklin and other sons of the founders of the original society see P. S. du Ponceau, *An Historical Account of the Origin and Formation of the American Philosophical Society*.

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purpose of which he announced in a prospectus, which Sparks summarizes as follows:

After mentioning the obstacles that existed in the colonies to a free communication of thoughts among men devoted to philosophical inquiries and reflection, in consequence of the extent of the country, and the distances they lived apart, by which they were prevented from seeing and conversing with each other, he says: "To remedy this inconvenience for the future, it is proposed, that a society be formed of *virtuosi* or ingenious men, residing in the several colonies, to be called *The American Philosophical Society*, who are to maintain a constant correspondence; and that Philadelphia, being the city nearest the centre of the continent colonies, communicating with all of them northward and southward by post, and with all the islands by sea, and having the advantage of a good growing library, be the centre of the society.¹

Of this society Hopkinson became the first president.² It will thus appear that he was a prominent member of the Junto, of the Library Company which grew from it, and of the American Philosophical Society into which it later merged³—three organizations whose importance in the intellectual development of America can hardly be overestimated.

His interest in education, to be inferred from his activity in the learned societies of Philadelphia, was more specifically shown when the proper occasion presented itself. When Franklin formed the plan of starting an institution of higher learning, he was strongly supported by Hopkinson, who subscribed to the enterprise ten pounds a year for three years,⁴ and who became one of the board

¹ *The Works of Benjamin Franklin* (ed. Jared Sparks), I, 576.

² He is so designated in a letter written by Franklin to Cadwallader Colden on April 5, 1744. See *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, II, 376.

³ The American Society and the Philosophical Society united on January 2, 1769. See Du Ponceau, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

⁴ Thomas H. Montgomery, *A History of the University of Pennsylvania*, p. 118.

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that on November 14, 1749, announced the constitution of the Academy of Philadelphia,¹ and on February 1, 1750, purchased for the use of the school the "New Building" which had been erected as a "tabernacle" for Whitefield, the evangelist.² As further evidence of his interest in the school, he enrolled his son as its first student.³

Hopkinson, like his friend Benjamin Franklin, was an original investigator in science. The latter, writing to Peter Collinson, on July 11, 1747, describes at length his own experiments in dissipating electrical charges through points. He had discovered, for example, that he could neutralize a charged body, without drawing a spark, by presenting a long, sharp bodkin at a distance of six or eight inches. "To show that points will *throw off* as well as *draw off* the electrical fire," he continues, "lay a long sharp needle upon the shot [the body charged in the experiment] and you cannot electrise the shot." To his very complete account, here briefly summarized, Franklin later added this note:

This power to *throw off* the electrical fire was first communicated to me by my ingenious friend, Mr. *Thomas Hopkinson*, since deceased, whose virtue and integrity, in every station of life, public and private, will ever make his Memory dear to those who knew him, and knew how to value him.⁴

Thomas Hopkinson rendered a great service to future historians by keeping a complete file of the *American Weekly Mercury*, the first Philadelphia newspaper, published

¹ Montgomery *op. cit.*, pp. 46-51.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 116 ff.

³ See p. 43.

⁴ Franklin explains that "Mr. Hopkinson's experiment [was] made with an expectation of drawing a more sharp and powerful spark from the point, as from a kind of focus, and he was surprised to find little or none." For a full account of this famous experiment, the reader is referred to *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, I, 90, and II, 302-10.

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from 1719 to 1745. This collection, which was given by Francis Hopkinson to the Library Company of Philadelphia, is the only one that has been preserved;¹ it has been deemed so important that the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania has reprinted in facsimile and edited the issues published between December 22, 1719—the date of the first number—and January 7, 1728.

Although Hopkinson was of a rather retiring disposition, he was not lacking in social qualities. Like Franklin, he was a member of St. John's Lodge in Philadelphia, the first Masonic lodge established in America.² In this lodge he was elected junior grand warden in 1734, deputy grand master in 1735, and grand master in 1736.³ He was one of the subscribers to the City Dancing Assembly in 1748-49, and probably was one of the organizers of the earlier one in 1740.⁴

Franklin's *Autobiography* recounts a very amusing story of Thomas Hopkinson. Whitefield, the famous Methodist preacher, was in Philadelphia raising money to build an orphan asylum in Georgia. Franklin attended the meeting, but he resolved before going that he would not contribute, because he considered the plan of sending workmen and materials from Philadelphia to Georgia a wasteful one. Under the spell of Whitefield's eloquence, however, he was so stirred that he threw into the collection all the money he had in his pocket—

¹ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXII, 217-20. I am informed by Mrs. Bunford Samuel, formerly of the Ridgway branch, that Francis Hopkinson also gave the Library Company the early volumes of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

² Thomas H. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³ Julius Sachse, *Old Masonic Lodges of Pennsylvania*, pp. 20-21.

⁴ Frank Willing Leach, "Genealogical Column" of the *North American*, Philadelphia, January 12, 1908.

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a hand-full of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. . . . At this sermon there was also one of our club, who being of my sentiments respecting the building in Georgia, and suspecting a collection might be intended, had, by precaution, emptied his pockets before he came from home. Towards the conclusion of the discourse, however, he felt a strong desire to give, and apply'd to a neighbor, who stood near him, to lend him some money for the purpose. The application was unfortunately [made] to perhaps the only man in the company who had the firmness not to be affected by the preacher. His answer was, "*At any other time, Friend Hopkinson, I would lend to thee freely; but not now, for thee seems to be out of thy senses.*"¹

The life of Thomas Hopkinson was very short. On November 5, 1751, he died at the age of forty-two,² leaving behind him a record such as any man might aspire to attain for himself. Sparks says of him briefly: "He was distinguished for his classical attainments, general learning, the brilliancy of his conversation, and his fondness for philosophical studies."³ Much more complete is the eloquent testimony of his worth, published by Franklin in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*:⁴

Last Week died here the honourable THOMAS HOPKINSON, Esq; Judge of the Admiralty for this Province, one of the Governor's Council, and Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Philadelphia, &c. A Gentleman possessed of many Virtues, without the Alloy of one single Vice; and distinguished for his attachment to the Cause of Justice and Honesty; which he practised in private Life with a scrupulous Exactness, and in Publick Affairs, with an Intrepidity and Firmness of Mind that was not to be shaken; an excellent Ingredient in his Character, where a quick Conception, a clear Discern-

¹ *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, I, 356-57.

² The Hopkinson family Bible. The Christ Church burial register states that he was buried on November 5, but the date is evidently wrong. "The entries in the register," says Mr. Edward Hopkinson, "are said to have been made by the sexton, and may not have been contemporary with the burial."

³ *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, VI, 87.

⁴ November 14, 1751.



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ALLEGHENY COLLEGE LIBRARY

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ment, and a solid Judgment were happily united. In matters of Trust so faithful that the nearest Concerns of his own Interest had not a greater Share of his Application. His Benevolence was as extensive as the proper Object of it, the whole human Race; but his great Modesty, and his not seeking to be known, caused the Number of his intimate Friends to be but small: Among those, in the Hours of Recreation, he had a particular Faculty of tempering the *Facetious* with the *Grave*, in so agreeable a manner as made his Conversation both delightful and instructive. He was reserved in Professions of Religion; but the Spirit of Christianity actuated the whole Conduct of his Life. Not conscious of any Guilt or Neglect of social Duty, he beheld the slow Approaches of Death with an amazing Chearfulness, without any Mixture of Anxiety or Fear; and at last bade adieu to the World with all the Serenity of Mind that could flow from the Wisdom of a Philosopher joined to the Innocence of a Child.¹

Mrs. Francis Tazewell Redwood, of Baltimore, has three portraits of Thomas Hopkinson. One, an unsigned miniature, probably by Benjamin West, is deposited in the Maryland Historical Society. Another, also unsigned, is a small oval portrait showing only the head and a part of the shoulders. The third is a life-size, three-quarter-length portrait in oil. This too is unsigned, but Mr. Edward Hopkinson, who has a copy, informs the author that it has been attributed by Mr. Lawrence Park, of Boston, to Robert Feke. Several copies of this portrait have been made. A photograph copy has been deposited by Mr. Edward Hopkinson in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The American Philosophical Society owns a copy painted in oil from a copy now in the home of Mr. Edward Hopkinson, Jr., of Philadelphia. Another copy in oil, by Ida Waugh, was presented to the United States Court, in Philadelphia, by Mrs. Elizabeth Borden Biddle.

Thomas Hopkinson's will, which is preserved in the *Will Book* of 1751, is dated April 11, 1751; it was proved on

¹ Reprinted in T. H. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

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November 21, 1751. It directs that his wife shall have the plantation in Antigua which had belonged to her father, Baldwin Johnson; and that his other property, consisting of a dwelling-house and twenty-one acres at Nernington, five hundred and thirty-seven acres at Blackbird Creek, New Castle County, and an "eighth part or share of Toole Forge," be sold, and the proceeds distributed among his children as follows:

To each of my two sons, Francis and Thomas £900, and to each of my four daughters, Elizabeth, Jane, Mary and Anne £700 to be paid to them at their respective ages of 21 years or days of marriage.

Then follows a paragraph which is not without significance in helping to establish the reputation for integrity in the administrations of the affairs of others which Franklin has given his friend:

WHEREAS, Elizabeth Boore, the daughter of my sister Elizabeth Allen, lately deceased,¹ is seized of a messuage, Plantation, and tract of land near Pennypack, which is now leased to one William Cain for 213 per annum, now it is my will that whatsoever the income of my niece's estate shall fall short of being sufficient for her support, maintenance & education, shall be supplied and made good out of my estate until she shall attain the age of 21 years or until the day of her marriage, which shall first happen.

After these sums have been deducted from the estate, the residue is to go to his wife, absolutely and without condi-

¹ Here we have another genealogical puzzle, for the Hopkinsons of today know nothing of this branch of the family. Some time before his death, Charles R. Hildeburn, the Philadelphia antiquarian, tried to solve the problem, but could find nothing new except a record of the will of Elizabeth Allen, proved on April 14, 1748, in which she is described as a widow. The problem is complicated by the fact that the marriage record of Christ Church shows that Elizabeth Hopkinson was married on December 30, 1736, to Alexander Paxton. If she is the same person whom Thomas Hopkinson calls "my sister Elizabeth Allen," she must have been married three times, but no record of the other marriages has been found. The Christ Church marriage record shows that Elizabeth Boore was married to Charles Jervis on February 27, 1766. See *Pennsylvania Archives* (2d series), VIII, 24, 197.

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tions. Finally, Hopkinson appoints Thomas Cadwalader, Richard Peters, Charles Willing, and Mary Johnson Hopkinson executors of the will and guardians of the children. The court records show, however, that the men declined to act, and that letters were granted to Mrs. Hopkinson alone. Her difficulties during this trying time are suggested in a letter written many years later to her youngest daughter, Ann, on the occasion of the death of the latter's husband, Dr. Samuel S. Coale:

You are in one respect better of [*sic*] than I was with seven children¹ to bring up, the eldest but in his 14 year . . .² that a son, and 100 a year cut of [*sic*] when your father drew his last Breath, and not one friend or Relation to consult with or care for me and my children.³

Mary Johnson Hopkinson outlived her husband by more than fifty years. Before the end of her life in 1804 she had lost by death both of her sons; four of her daughters; her three sons-in-law; and twelve of her grandchildren,⁴ including one of the most promising of them all and her favorite, the gifted young artist, Thomas Spence Duché.⁵ In the collection of Mrs. Redwood are a number of Mrs. Hopkinson's letters to her children, a commonplace book which she kept for many years, and a copy of her

¹ The seventh child was probably Elizabeth Boore, who we know was an orphan, and who could hardly have reached her teens at this time. In addition to the six children named in the will, two others were born to Thomas and Mary Hopkinson: Mary, who was born on July 5, 1741, and who died on August 9 of the same year; and Margaret, born on July 21, 1749, and buried at Christ Church on September 9, 1751.

² Word missing in the manuscript.

³ Letter of October 18, 1798, to Ann Hopkinson Coale, of Baltimore; in the collection of Mrs. Francis Tazewell Redwood.

⁴ See Charles P. Keith, *Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania*, pp. 265 ff.

⁵ In a letter written to her daughter Jane on August 21, 1788, she describes the piety of the young man. "O that all my children, and Grand children," she remarks, "were such as he is by all accounts I have of him." Letter in the collection of Mrs. Francis Tazewell Redwood.

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will; all these, together with the testimony of those who knew her, prove that she was a woman of deep piety, strong personality, and true nobility of character.

In a letter to her son Thomas written after he had announced his decision to take holy orders, she reveals herself, not as a doting and pious mother, delighted to see her son choose a religious life, but as a strong and thoughtful woman, who would have him live by the highest principles her theology could conceive:

You have been uneasy that you have not a plan for your Studies. Suffer me to give you one that I am sure will not fail. Study first your own Heart, pray earnestly to God to assist you in this necessary duty. Study next the Holy Scriptures and pray to be enlightened in them these with the assistance of the Spirit of God for your ground work will make all your other studies delightfull and affectual. Above all neglect not a moment in examining the principal Inducement that leads you to chuse this profession. if it be the Glory of God, the Good of Souls, and a full Intention of dedicating your time, talents, worldly interest and affections wholly to the work of the ministry, pursue it eagerly. you will be assisted by the mighty power of God, but if this be not your principle motive give me not the pain to see an Enemy of the Church in my own family. By your behavior at present I cannot flatter myself you are a Christian in the true sense of the word—for to be in Christ is to be born again—to renounce our self will—to be humble, teachable, full of self abasement—to be at constant war with our corrupt affections—and ever crossing them, to be quick and severe our own offense to find—ar . thankful to those who point them out to us—not slothful remembering that,

This is the Scene of Combat, not of rest,
Mans is a laborious happiness at best;
On this Side Death, his dangers never cease,
His Joys are Joys of conquest, not of peace.

This my dear is necessary for you in any Station of life—if you intend to be happy here or hereafter, for there is the same requirement of every Christian as to the State of his own Soul as of a Clergyman. the only difference (as to themselves) is that their virtues and vices are placed in

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a stronger light, and brought out more to public view. I hope these lines from a mother, ever anxious for your present, and eternal happiness, and whose anxiety is greatly increased, will have its due weight with you—that God Almighty would Bless this, and every means that is used for your instruction, are the constant Prayer of your affectionate Mother.¹

Three years later when the young man was in England preparing for ordination, she wrote this earnest letter on his behalf to her husband's friend, Benjamin Franklin:

DEAR SIR

My son Thomas will have the Honor to deliver this to you. Shall I beg you will condescend to advise and instruct a young man, although honest and open hearted, yet entirely unacquainted with the world and the Disposition of those whom it is his Interest to please. Any other man in your place and station I could not ask such a Favor of engaged, as you are, in such a multiplicity of Business and that for your country. But I know I write to a Gentleman who is capable of carrying on the greatest affairs and yet can attend to the most minute, when called upon by friendship or charity You will answer both by this Condescension and will add one more obligation to the many my family have received from you. Mr. Warren has been so good as to invite him to lodge at his House, his goodness to my other Son,² and this new favor I shall never forget, it calls for my utmost Gratitude and my sincere prayer is, that it may be returned to him by the Father of the fatherless in Blessings Seventy fold. and do you think, Sir I separate in my heart the obligation I am under to you as the Instrument in the Hand of God in making me acquainted with such kind Relations.—I cannot—but shall with great Gratitude ever think my self

Your obliged humble Servant

PHILAD^a Sept. 6, 1770

MARY HOPKINSON.³

¹ Letter of July, 1766, in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq. There is a tradition in the family that Mary Hopkinson was nearly seventeen before her negligent guardians paid any attention to her education. This will account for the errors in her letters.

² This refers to Francis Hopkinson's visit to England in 1766-67, which is the subject of chap. iv.

³ Letter among the Franklin manuscripts in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; it is printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXVI, 120-21.

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Mary Hopkinson's chief ambition for her children was that they should all be good Christians. Writing to her daughter Jane on May 15, 1784, she exhorts her not to be content with the forgiveness of sin, but to take pains to be delivered from her corrupt nature. "I speak not from hearsay," continues the good woman; "I have experienced his power in my own soul. O my Dear Child indulge no temper in you but that of the meek and Holy Jesus."¹

On another occasion, when disappointed at not receiving an expected visit from her daughter, Mrs. Ann Coale, she wrote to Jane:

I am sorry that Nancy cannot venture up without the Doc. . . . O that she could put her whole trust in that good Providence that can take care of the least creature that he has made, and he has said that a sparrow falls not to the ground without his notice. Surely she is as safe in his protection abroad as at home, and without it can be safe nowhere.²

Mrs. Hopkinson's religion was not of the sort that expends all its force in quoting texts for the edification of others; it was a vital power, a strong defense against the multitude of sorrows that cruelly assailed but could not shake her abiding faith. Her Christian fortitude appears in the brave conclusion of a letter written to her daughters in Baltimore to announce the death of their sister, Mary Morgan:

Dear Children strive to conquer every disposition that is not Heavenly, and reach with all your might for all those that are, such as patience, Humility, Meekness. Rest not untill you find these the first Disposition of your Souls, and bless every disappointment and distress that helps you to gain them thus. Add your prayers and endeavors to the prayers of your ever affectionate

M. HOPKINSON³

¹ This letter is in the collection of Mrs. Francis Tazewell Redwood.

² Letter of August 21, 1788; *ibid.*

³ Letter of January 22, 1785; *ibid.*

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Not long before the death of Dr. Coale, Mrs. Hopkinson sent this message to her anxious daughter:

My best advice is that you would pray constantly to that Almighty power who has Sickness and Health, life and Death at his disposal, and has promised to hear our prayers, and will surely grant our petitions, if it be no impediment to our eternal interest for all his dispensations to us is to prepare for that happiness he has purchased for us.¹

When the trouble here foreshadowed finally came, she wrote again:

I can only direct you to that merciful God, that was my support under like affliction, and who was then, and has ever since been my never failing support and comfort, and my guide under the many trials necessary attendant on the widow.²

Mary Hopkinson was concerned about the spiritual welfare of others besides her own children. Writing on August 26, 1784, to an unnamed friend, evidently a woman who was troubled by religious doubts, she strongly urges her correspondent to become a Christian. She advises her to do no general reading until her problem is settled—to avoid even religious books—but to confine her study to the Scriptures, especially the New Testament. “Let that,” she continues, “be your constant companion and pray earnestly to God to deliver you from all the corruptions of your nature and to give you all the conquering nature of the Holy Jesus.”³

Like most people of firm religious convictions, Mrs. Hopkinson had little tolerance for heresy. This will appear from a letter to Mrs. Coale which contains this vigorous message for a friend of the family:

¹ Letter of September 25, 1797; *ibid.*

² Letter of October 18, 1798; *ibid.*

³ Letter of August 26, 1784; *ibid.*

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Tell Doc. Dorsey I have allways an affection for him, which made me very uneasy to hear that he had commencet a disciple of that miserable creature Paine, who has denied the Lord that bought him, and ridiculed that divine Revelation, that God in infinite mercy hath given us, poor ignorant helpless creatures, to lead us to happiness in both worlds, for without religion there can be no happiness even in this world.¹

The impression one gathers from these letters is corroborated by the testimony of Dr. Benjamin Rush, the eminent physician, who knew Mary Hopkinson, and who has inserted in his *Commonplace Book* these two stories of her piety and resignation:

April 22, 1796. Mrs. Duché [Elizabeth Hopkinson Duché] told me this day that her mother had long objected to living with her "because she was afraid her love for her children would lessen her communion with God which she enjoyed in her own house and alone." She concealed this reason for living by herself until yesterday, even from her daughter Mrs. Duché.²

March 21, 1797. This day died my excellent friend Mrs. Duché. I visited her mother, Mrs. Hopkinson, whom I found composed and resigned. She spoke of the deaths of her son Judge Hopkinson and her daughter Mrs. Morgan, and said, "I must be a crooked stick to require so much affliction to straighten me."³

In the year 1780 or thereabout, Mary Hopkinson started a *Commonplace Book*, in which for many years she wrote extracts from favorite books, scriptural passages, poems, hymns, prayers, personal reflections, and bits of family history. The contents of this volume are quite in keeping with the character revealed in her correspondence, as the following table will show:

¹ Letter of May 23, 1796, in the collection of Mrs. Francis Tazewell Redwood.

² *A Memorial, Containing Travels through Life or Sundry Incidents, in the Life of Dr. Benjamin Rush, Born Dec. 24, 1745 (Old Style), Died April 19, 1813, Written by Himself; also Extracts from his Commonplace Book*, p. 151.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

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1. A poem of eight stanzas written by "Mr. Winchester when the Americans were enlisting soldiers"¹
2. A dream of universal salvation, which she had in the fall of 1780, a few weeks before Mr. Winchester proclaimed his doctrine of "universal restoration"
3. Extracts from the Old Testament, with notes showing that these verses contain prophecies that have been fulfilled
4. A slightly modernized version of the Lord's Prayer, with notes
5. The Rev. Mr. Green's remarks on Paine's *The Age of Reason*²
6. Notes on Professor ——'s theology³
7. Extracts from Henry Brooke's *The Fool of Quality*
8. Dr. Benneville's account of what he saw in the spiritual world⁴
9. A description of the twelve precious stones that make up the foundation of the New Jerusalem
10. An account of the death of her daughter, Mary Morgan, on January 1, 1785
11. A dream of Mrs. Joseph Borden, in which she saw Mary Morgan in heaven
12. Verses on the death of Mary Morgan
13. Notice of the death of her son, Thomas Hopkinson, Jr., on May 20, 1788

¹ This is probably by Elhanan Winchester, the eminent Baptist preacher and apostle of "universal restoration," who came to Philadelphia in October, 1780, and preached there for several years. Dr. Rush was one of his converts, and Mary Hopkinson was evidently much interested in his doctrine of universal salvation. In 1784 he published a collection of patriotic hymns. This poem is not among them, but it resembles them in its fervent piety and in the fact that it is written in "common meter," which is Winchester's favorite verse form. See Edwin M. Stone, *Biography of Rev. Elhanan Winchester*, pp. 40 ff.

² This may be the Rev. Ashbel Green (1762-1845), a Presbyterian minister, who was chaplain of Congress from 1792 to 1800, who became president of the College of New Jersey in 1812, and who was one of the founders of the Princeton Theological Seminary in 1815. I find no reference to Paine, however, in Green's *Autobiography* or published sermons. The "Remarks" assert that *The Age of Reason* is a book "in which the most contemptible ignorance, the grossest falsehood, the most vulgar buffoonery, the most unblushing impudence and the most daring profaneness are united."

³ The name is indecipherable. It looks like "Konynensburg," but I find no record of a theologian bearing this name.

⁴ Dr. George de Benneville was a Germantown physician and one of Winchester's disciples. At the age of eighteen he had a vision in which God revealed to him that all men are ultimately to be saved. See Edwin M. Stone, *Biography of Rev. Elhanan Winchester*, pp. 102-4.

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14. Notice of the death of her grandson, Thomas Spence Duché, on March 31, 1791
15. Notice of the death of her daughter, Elizabeth Duché, on March 22, 1797
16. Notice of the death of Francis Hopkinson, on May 9, 1791
17. A prayer for spiritual guidance for herself and her children, written in 1789
18. A hymn of five stanzas, beginning,

Creator, Spirit, by whose aid
The world's foundations first were laid,
Come visit every waiting mind,
Come pour thy joys on human kind.

19. Passages of Scripture referring to "Christ's Glorious Reign on Earth"¹
20. The hymn, "Lo, He Comes with Clouds Descending" (six stanzas)
21. Extract from a letter of William Law concerning the approach of the Great Day
22. Extract from a letter of William Law on church communion
23. Extract from William Law's letter, "In Answer to a Scruple"
24. A hymn of four stanzas, beginning,

Come Holy Spirit, send down those beams
Which gently flow in silent streams
From the eternal throne above;
Come, thou enricher of the poor,
Thou bounteous source of all our store,
Fill us with faith, with hope, with love.

25. Scriptural quotations bearing on "universal restoration"
26. A reminiscence of the British occupation of Philadelphia²
27. A prayer of thanksgiving, written when the British evacuated Philadelphia on June 18, 1778
28. The hymn, "O God, Our Help in Ages Past" (three stanzas)

¹ These selections are followed by a prayer for the coming of Christ's Kingdom.

² Distressed because she had heard that the enemy were about to burn the city, she opened the *Prayer Book* at random and was reassured by reading the hymn beginning,

"Against insulting foes advanced
Thou didst our cause maintain."

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29. A confession of the sins of the people, and a prayer for the country; dated July 4, 1780
30. An extract from Dr. George Horne's sermon on "The Government of the Thoughts"
31. An extract from the life of Basil, Bishop of Caesarea¹
32. A letter from Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, to the Emperor Constantine²
33. An account of the death of four French Protestant martyrs in the year 1762, copied from a letter by "a person who was an eyewitness"
34. An account of persecutions endured by the Christian church in the year 202³
35. An extract from John Whitaker's *The Origin of Arianism Disclosed*
36. Some reflections on the sufferings of Jesus

The book contains a note which provides that the volume is to be given to Elizabeth Duché after the owner's death. "If my Daughter Duché should die before me, then if my Son Francis Hopkinson should chuse this Book, he is to have it, but if he is indifferent about it, any other of my children who have a taste for the contents is to have it." Neither of those named, however, lived to inherit the book, which went to Ann Coale or her sister Jane Hopkinson, who lived with her after the home in Philadelphia was broken up. The volume has remained in the possession of the Baltimore branch of the family, and is now owned by Mrs. Francis Tazewell Redwood.

Mary Hopkinson's will, dated January 21, 1799,⁴ is a quaint and thoroughly characteristic document. To her grandson, Joseph Hopkinson, the son of Francis, she leaves her property in Antigua and two hundred and fifty acres

¹ This is taken from William Cave's *Apostolici*.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* At the end of this selection Mrs. Hopkinson wrote: "O how different are the Christians of our age."

⁴ She lived, however, until November 9, 1804.

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of land situated on Blackbird Creek.¹ She gives minute directions for the disposal of her personal property, as the following extract will show: "I give unto my daughter Ann Cole my Musketo Curtains, my white Coverlid, my black Mantua Gown & Petticoat, and every Gown that my Jane cannot make a gown for herself." To some of her grandchildren and to her great-grandchildren she gives Bibles, which are to cost about twenty shillings each;² but to two favored granddaughters, Esther Duché Hill and Elizabeth Sophia Duché, she bequeaths rings "to be made agreeable to their orders." Esther Duché Hill is also to receive a portrait of her parents, made by her brother Thomas Spence Duché;³ and Jane Hopkinson is to have portraits of her sisters, Mary Morgan and Ann Coale.⁴

So much for the disposal of Mary Hopkinson's temporal property. To all her descendants who knew her she left a legacy far more valuable than money or lands or works of art—the memory of a strong and courageous soul, the example of a life of unwavering faith. Her final message to her children is given in the note to Elizabeth Duché, written in the *Commonplace Book*, which ends with these words: "May you my Dear, and all my Children be found among the first Born, and be enabled to Rejoice in the coming Kingdom of our Lord."

Two portraits of Mary Johnson Hopkinson have been preserved. One is a miniature, probably by Benjamin

¹ She remarks incidentally that Benjamin Chew, who has had charge of her property, has collected a large fee, but has not attended to his business.

² A codicil added on July 3, 1802, sets four dollars as the maximum price to be paid for each Bible.

³ This picture, which is now in the Hopkinson collection of portraits in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, shows the young painter to have been an artist of ability.

⁴ The portrait of Mary Morgan, a very beautiful picture, is said to have been made from a miniature by Benjamin West. It is now owned by Mrs. Redwood.

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West, owned by Mrs. Francis Tazewell Redwood. This is a companion of the miniature of Thomas Hopkinson, previously mentioned, and is deposited with it in the Maryland Historical Society. The other is a handsome oil portrait by Benjamin West, owned by Mrs. Elizabeth Borden Biddle, who has deposited it with the other family portraits in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

This, then, was the stock from which Francis Hopkinson sprang. Whence came his varied accomplishments in art, music, and literature, we have no means of determining. It is certain, however, that from his father he inherited enterprise, business sagacity, a keen interest in public affairs, and a high standard of personal honor. From his mother he received firmness and stability of character, and a deep-rooted belief in the truth and power of the Christian religion. And from both he derived that sanity and common sense for which he was eminently distinguished during his entire life.

CHAPTER II

BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND EARLIEST WRITINGS

Some confusion has arisen about the date of Francis Hopkinson's birth. Lossing, with a minuteness of detail that invites belief, states that he was born "at almost midnight on the third of September, 1738."¹ The sketch in *The National Portrait Gallery*,² which has been attributed to his son, Judge Joseph Hopkinson,³ says merely that he was born in 1738. Sanderson is equally vague, but changes the year to 1737.⁴ Delaplaine agrees with Sanderson as to the year, and adds September as the month of his birth.⁵ And finally, two of the most careful of his more recent biographers, Mr. Sonneck⁶ and Professor Tyler,⁷ have given the dates September 21, 1737, and October 2, 1737, respectively. Fortunately, the way out of this labyrinth is easy: The record in the Hopkinson family Bible states that Francis Hopkinson was born on September 21, 1737, at seven o'clock in the morning.⁸ Moreover, the discrepancy

¹ Benson J. Lossing, *Eminent Americans*, p. 57.

² John B. Longacre and James Herring, *The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans*, Vol. III.

³ E. M. Woodward and J. F. Hageman, *A History of Burlington and Mercer Counties, New Jersey*, p. 469.

⁴ John Sanderson, *Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence*, p. 187.

⁵ Joseph Delaplaine, *Repository of the Lives and Portraits of Distinguished American Characters*, II, 126.

⁶ O. G. Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson, the First American Poet-Composer*, p. 9.

⁷ Moses Coit Tyler, *The Literary History of the American Revolution*, II, 164.

⁸ This Bible, which was printed in London in 1738, is in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq. On the cover is the name of Mary Hopkinson. Inside are the family record; a statement that the book was given to Francis Hopkinson on January 4, 1763; Francis Hopkinson's bookplate; and a devotional poem by Francis Hopkinson.

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between the dates given by Mr. Sonneck and Professor Tyler is only apparent, as September 21, old style, is the same as October 2, according to the modern calendar.

Hopkinson was baptized at Christ Church on November 12, 1737.¹ It is gratifying to find that no youthful precocity forces him on our attention from that date to the day of his matriculation at the Academy of Philadelphia, fourteen years later.

Because Hopkinson was graduated from the College of Philadelphia in 1757, it has been assumed that he entered the institution in 1753;² the actual date of his enrolment, however, was probably 1751. A remarkable resolution passed by the trustees of the college on May 20, 1766, definitely asserts that Francis Hopkinson "was the first scholar in this seminary at its opening,"³ but this statement does not clear up the date, by any means. Although Franklin issued the prospectus of his academy on August 24, 1749,⁴ the school did not open until the first Monday in January, 1751,⁵ and did not receive a charter until July 13, 1753.⁶ William Smith, the first provost, says that the college was started soon after, and was granted a charter on May 14, 1755; Montgomery, however, shows that the final draft of the charter did not go into effect until June 10, 1755.⁷ From all this it is evident that "the first scholar in this seminary" might have matriculated in 1753, or even in 1755, but it seems much more probable that the open-

¹ Parish record. See C. R. Hildeburn's sketch of Hopkinson in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 315.

² See, for example, the article on Hopkinson by Mrs. Annie Russell Marble, in the *New England Magazine*, XXVII, 290.

³ See p. 123.

⁴ Thomas H. Montgomery, *A History of the University of Pennsylvania*, p. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

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ing referred to in the resolution is that of the academy in 1751.

Since Thomas Hopkinson was a trustee of the academy and a contributor to its financial support,¹ and since he had a son who in 1751 was fourteen years old, it seems very probable that he would send this boy to the academy at its opening; besides, there is positive evidence that he did so. The first rector of the academy, the Rev. David Martin, who was also the Latin teacher, entered upon his duties on July 13, 1750,² and died on December 11, 1751.³ Edward Hopkinson, Esq., has several books from the library of his great-grandfather, and among them is a copy of *The Comedies of Terence*, published in Amsterdam in 1658, which contains the following note in the handwriting of the former owner:

Francis Hopkinson,
his Book given to him by David Martin his Master⁴ in
the year of our Lord 1751, September the 15th.

From this note it would seem almost certain that Hopkinson was a member of Martin's Latin class, and therefore a student in the academy during the first year of its existence.

So far from being an obscure "new boy" in the school in 1753, Hopkinson had by that time become a person of some prominence there. When the academy received its first charter on July 13 of that year, the faculty held special exercises, at which a number of the students delivered original "declamations" in honor of the event. Four of the best of these were later forwarded to the proprietaries by

¹ Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 118. ² *Ibid.*, p. 136. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁴ The words "his Master" have been erased, but not so completely as to be entirely illegible.

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their secretary, Richard Peters,¹ who indorsed one of the papers with this note:

These are some Declamations made by the Latin Boys in the Academy on the Proprietarys kind Grant of a Charter. They were not intended for view, being only written as Rough Draughts to help their Memories at the time of Delivery. Neither Masters nor any other person that we know of gave any Assistance.

The authors of the four compositions thus honored were Josiah Martin, William Masters, John Morris,² and Francis Hopkinson.

From these facts then—that Hopkinson received a book from the Latin teacher of the academy in September, 1751, and that he had developed into a prominent school orator by July, 1753—it is probable that the statement of the trustees is literally true, and that he was the first student to enter the institution at its original foundation in January, 1751.³

Before we turn to Hopkinson's undergraduate writings of which the "Declamation" is the first, it may be interesting to try to ascertain what sort of training was offered by the College of Philadelphia to a young man of literary

¹ Richard Peters (1704-76) was an Englishman, educated at Oxford and Leyden. He studied law, but gave it up for the ministry. He came to Philadelphia in 1735 and became assistant minister of Christ Church. In 1737 he resigned this position and entered business. He became a prominent citizen and held many offices in the province. He was one of the founders of the academy and college and served as president of the Board of Trustees from 1756 until 1764. In 1762 he returned to the ministry and became rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's. He remained in this position until ill health forced him to resign in 1775.

² Josiah Martin received an M.A. in 1757, and five years later died in the island of Antigua. See Hopkinson, *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 70-72, for an elegy on his death. Morris received his degree in 1759. Masters never completed his course. See Montgomery, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-79.

³ He was not, however, the first to pay his entrance fee. Montgomery has pointed out that the first three to do this were George Lea, William Peters, and Richard Peters—the last two nephews of the Rev. Richard Peters. See Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

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tastes, as compared with that offered by some of the older institutions of the country.

Harvard, Yale, and Princeton were all dominated by the church. Their presidents and most of their faculties were clergymen, and a large proportion of their students were candidates for the ministry. In all three, the classics, mathematics, and theology formed the backbone of the courses. At Philadelphia, on the other hand, where the influence of the great rationalist, Franklin, was the strongest single force, the curriculum was more liberal. This will appear from a brief comparison of the courses offered at the four institutions.

When Harvard became a university in 1780, it had three professorships—those of divinity, mathematics, and Hebrew and other oriental languages.¹ A few years later the course was revised and the work outlined as follows:

Horace, Sallust, Cicero de Oratore, Homer, and Xenophon were substituted for Virgil, Cicero's Orations, Caesar, and the Greek Testament. The number of exercises was increased and the instructors were enjoined to ascertain that they were learned by the whole class.

These classics formed the principal studies of the first three College years. The Freshmen were instructed, also, in rhetoric, the art of speaking, and arithmetic; the Sophomores in algebra, and other branches of mathematics; the Juniors in Livy, Doddridge's Lectures; and, once a week, the Greek Testament; the Seniors in logic, metaphysics, and ethics. The Freshmen and Sophomores were required to study Hebrew, or French as a substitute. Through the College course, all the classes were instructed in declamation, chronology, and history.²

In the *Diary* of President Ezra Stiles, of Yale, is recorded this account of the courses given at the New Haven college at the time of his accession in 1778:

¹ Josiah Quincy, *The History of Harvard University*, II, 258-59.

² *Ibid.*, p. 279; quoted by Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

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FRESHMAN CLASS

Virgilius, Ciceronis Orationes, Greek Test^a, Ward's Arithmetic.

SOPHOMORE [*sic*] CLASS

Graecum Test., Horatius, Lowth's Eng. Grammar, Watts' Logic, Guthrie's Geography, Hammond's Algebra, Holmes Rhetorick, Wards Geometry, Vincent's Catechism Saturdays, Wards Math.

JUNIOR CLASS

Ward's Trigonometry, Atkinson & Wilson D^o Graec. Test^a Cic. de Oratore, Martin's Phil. Grammar & Philosophy 3 vol., Vincent, Saturdays.

SENIOR CLASS

Locke Human Understand^a, Wollaston's Rel. Nat. delineated, & for Saturdays Wollebius, Amesij Medulla, Graec. Test. (or Edwards on the Will sometime discontinued), Presid^t Claps Ethics.¹

In a prospectus of the College of New Jersey, published by order of the trustees in 1764, the Princeton curriculum is summarized thus:

The Freshman year is spent in Latin and Greek languages, particularly in reading *Horace*, *Cicero's Orations*, the Greek Testament, Lucian's Dialogues, and *Xenophon's Cyropaedia*. In the *Sophomore* year they still prosecute the study of the languages, particularly *Homer*, *Longinus* &c., and enter upon the sciences, geography, rhetoric, logic, and the mathematics. They continue their mathematical studies throughout the *Junior* year, and also pass through a course of natural and moral philosophy, metaphysics, chronology, &c; and the greater number, especially such as are educating for the service of the church, are initiated into Hebrew. . . . The Senior year is entirely employed in reviews and composition. They now revise the most improving parts of Latin and Greek classics, part of the Hebrew Bible, and all the arts and sciences. The weekly course of disputation is continued, which was also carried on through the preceding year.²

When the Rev. William Smith became provost of the College of Philadelphia, he drew up a course of study for

¹ Ezra Stiles, *The Literary Diary*, II, 387-88; quoted by Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

² John Maclean, *A History of the College of New Jersey*, I, 266.

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the institution, which was adopted by the trustees in April, 1756. This scheme provided work sufficient to occupy the student for six years, three in the Latin and Greek schools and three in the philosophy school. An examination of the curriculum of the former will show that it alone offered almost as much work as any of the colleges that have been named:

A VIEW OF THE LATIN AND GREEK SCHOOLS

1st Stage. Grammar, Vocabulary, Sententiae Pueriles, Condery, Aesop, Erasmus.

N.B. To be exact in declining and conjugating. To begin to write exercises for the better understanding of Syntax, Writing and Reading of English to be continued if necessary.

2nd Stage. Selectae e veteri Testamento, Selectae e profanis Authoribus [*sic*]. Eutropius. Nepos. Metamorphosis. Latin Exercises and Writing continued.

3rd Stage. Metamorphosis continued. Virgil with Prosody. Caesar's Comment. Sallust. Greek Grammar. Greek Testament. Elements of Geography and Chronology. Exercises and Writing continued.

4th Stage. Horace. Terence. Virgil reviewed. Livy. Lucian. Xenophon or Homer begun.

N.B. This Year to make Themes; write Letters; give Descriptions and Characters. To turn Latin into English with great Regard to Punctuation and choice of Words. Some English and Latin Orations to be delivered with proper Grace both of Elocution and Gesture. Arithmetic begun.

After finishing this preliminary course, the student passed on to the philosophy school, where a truly formidable array of studies awaited him. The classics were continued during the entire course, at the rate of six or eight books a year; pure mathematics was pursued as far as conic sections; and logic, ethics, and metaphysics were taught, as in the other colleges. To these standard courses the philosophy school made some important additions. Courses in "Civil History," "Laws and Government," and "Trade

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and Commerce" indicate the beginnings of politics and economics. Partly through the influence of Franklin, no doubt, the college offered considerable instruction in the sciences, including in the list of subjects offered such titles as "Surveying," "Navigation," "Architecture and Fortifications," "Mechanics," "Hydrostatics," "Pneumatics," "Astronomy," "Natural History of Vegetables and Animals," and "Chemistry." There seems to have been a beginning of laboratory work, for the Provost's "View" of the curriculum states that during the last term of the Senior year "Philosophy Acts" were held. Much attention was paid to rhetoric, or "the art of masterly Composition," which Provost Smith made one of the five "Capital branches of Human Science,"¹ and to oratory, which he said was "too much neglected in other Institutions." And, finally, to occupy the students' "private hours" the "View" provided a long list of books for supplementary reading. Most of the volumes in this list are philosophical or scientific works, but Dryden's essays are included, and *The Spectator*, *The Rambler*, and "monthly magazines" are recommended "for the Improvement of Style and the Knowledge of Life."²

From all this, it appears that the course of study offered at Philadelphia, besides being more thorough and comprehensive than the courses offered at the older institutions, was particularly suited to the needs of Hopkinson, whose interests, as we shall see later, turned to science, politics, and literature.³

¹ Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 253, quoting the Rev. William Smith, *Discourses* (1759 ed.), p. 142. The other four were languages; logic and metaphysics; natural and moral philosophy; mathematics, "and the rest of her beautiful train of subservient arts."

² Montgomery, *op. cit.*, pp. 236 ff.

³ For a full discussion of the curriculum of the College of Philadelphia, as compared with those of other colleges, see *ibid.*, chaps. xxxii-xxxv.

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The declamations of the four academy students on the granting of the charter were destined to a longer life and a wider circulation than is usually accorded to undergraduate compositions. They were carefully preserved by the proprietaries, and may now be seen among the *Penn Papers* owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The following extracts from Hopkinson's speech—which is far too carefully written to be called a "rough draft"—will give some idea of his youthful style:

'Tis Learning which like an able Artist polishes the Diamond and discovers its Lustre & latent Beauties, 'Tis Learning which makes a Man happy in himself & a Blessing to his Country, 'Tis Learning which prepares us for Heav'n & Perfection and makes a Mortal almost equal to the Angels themselves. . . .

The Creator of the Universe seems to have made us for some great & noble End, & dare we frustrate his Designs by neglecting those glorious Talents, which he has implanted in us! dare we disgrace the noble Form which he has given us by ever meanly groveling in our native Ignorance.

Alas! how unhappy are they who have not had the Advantages of a liberal Education, surely Life must be a burden to them & Time hang heavy on their Hands, but this shall never be said of Philad^a while such generous, such public spirited Gentlemen [as the proprietaries] bear any Sway in it.

The delivery of the "Declamation" marks the beginning of Hopkinson's activity in college affairs—an activity that continued not only during his undergraduate years but throughout his whole life. His second public appearance occurred on November 12, 1754, on an occasion which the *Pennsylvania Packet* describes as follows:

Last Tuesday the Students in Philosophy, which compose the higher Class in our Academy, deliver'd a Series of publick Exercises before the *Trustees*. As these Exercises were the first of the Kind in our young Seminary, they drew together a large Audience of Ladies and Gentle-

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men, particularly his Honor our Lieutenant Governor;¹ his Excellency *John Tinker*, Esq.; Governor of Providence; the Honourable *James Hamilton*, Esq.; our late Governor, with several other Persons of Distinction.²

On this occasion a "Prologue" was spoken by Jacob Duché, who was later to play an important part in the life of Hopkinson, and an "Epilogue" by "Master Billie Hamilton," who in Revolutionary days became a prominent Tory.³ Hopkinson, one of the seven orators of the day, delivered an address "On Education in General," which emphasized particularly the value to the state of an educated constituency. In the peroration, which is an appeal for support for the new institution, the central thought of the address is expressed in this sentence:

Upon the whole then, it appears, that whether the Design be to preserve a good *Constitution* civil and religious, and transmit its Spirit, uncorrupted, down thro' the Ages; or whether the Design be to mend a bad *One*, and secure it against all Dangers from without, it is only to be done effectually by the slow, but sure Means of a *proper Education* of Youth.⁴

During the summer of 1755 the question of the Provost's salary came up in a meeting of the trustees, who resolved before fixing the amount to make an inspection of the school.⁵ Mr. Smith was advised of their coming, however, and, in order to make as favorable an impression as possible, had his students prepare for the occasion a program of six "philosophical discourses." The public, as well

¹ Robert Hunter Morris was lieutenant-governor for the proprietaries from 1754 to 1756.

² Published on November 24.

³ The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of November 14, 1754, makes this quaint comment on young Hamilton's "Epilogue": "As he is a Child under nine Years of Age, and spoke it with a great Deal of Humor and Propriety, it gave unexpressible Satisfaction to the Audience."

⁴ The entire speech is in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of November 21, 1754.

⁵ Montgomery, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-31.

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as the trustees, were invited to hear these orations, which, according to the *Gazette*, were delivered "greatly to the satisfaction of a numerous and polite audience."¹ Francis Hopkinson, the third on the program, spoke on "The Uses and Pleasures of the Imagination."

At this time the line of political cleavage in Pennsylvania fell between the democratic party, led by Franklin, and the party of the proprietaries, to which Provost Smith belonged. In the summer of 1756 some ambiguous remarks of the Provost were misquoted in such a way as to cause the trustees to make an investigation of his conduct. It is pleasant to learn that on this occasion Hopkinson and three other members of the highest class presented to the trustees a memorial in which they staunchly defended their chief.²

During the winter of 1756-57 the students of the college gave the most ambitious performance attempted during Hopkinson's undergraduate days. This was the presentation of *The Masque of Alfred the Great*, an adaptation of *Alfred, a Masque*, written by James Thomson and David Mallet and set to music by Dr. Thomas Arne in 1740, and revised by Mallet in 1751. The adaptation of the masque for presentation in America involved numerous alterations.

These alterations, together with the Introduction of some Hymns, and Pieces of Music, instead of some necessarily left out, and extending the Hermit's Prophecy of the future greatness of England, so far as to include these Colonies, have occasioned near 200 new Lines, besides a new Prologue and Epilogue.

¹ The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 31, 1755. The newspapers observed an eccentric policy with regard to commencements and other college affairs. Sometimes they reported them in great detail, printing all of the addresses in full; again, as in this case, they gave merely the names of the speakers and the subjects of the speeches; and occasionally they ignored them entirely.

² Montgomery, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-73.

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For reasons that need not be enumerated here, the elaborate account of the performance, from which the foregoing quotation is taken, and the masque itself, revised by "the Writer of this Account,"¹ have been attributed to Francis Hopkinson. Recently, however, Professor Arthur Hobson Quinn, of the University of Pennsylvania, discovered among the manuscripts of Provost William Smith, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *The Masque of Alfred* in printed form, with William Smith's manuscript alterations. "These alterations," says Professor Quinn in a letter written to the author of this work on January 11, 1926, "correspond, so far as they exist, to the alterations given in the account in the *Gazette*. The last portion of the masque, however, contains no alterations, and they may have been lost, since those that exist are pasted in."

The theory that Hopkinson was the author of *The Masque of Alfred* being no longer tenable, his part in the performance remains to be determined. His "Ode on Music," published in the *American Magazine* in October, 1757, is prefixed by a note explaining that the poem was "written at Philadelphia by a young gentleman of 17, on his beginning to learn the Harpsichord." According to the newspaper account of the performance of *The Masque of Alfred*, the instrumental parts were taken by "a number of young gentlemen," and the vocal parts by some young ladies, one of whom was Hopkinson's sister, Elizabeth. From these circumstances, Mr. Oscar G. Sonneck argues very plausibly that Hopkinson served as accompanist.²

After giving his reasons for believing that Hopkinson

¹ The masque and the account of the performance were published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* between January 20 and February 10, 1757.

² *Francis Hopkinson*, pp. 26-27 and 40.

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was one of the young gentlemen referred to by the *Gazette*, Mr. Sonneck says:

If Francis Hopkinson almost certainly rendered services as harpsichordist on these occasions (the masque was performed repeatedly), his contribution of a musical composition becomes at least probable. I infer this from a passus in the newspaper report.

" . . . Alfred . . . is confirmed in his noble Purposes by the following Song, sung by two invisible Spirits in the Characters of his Guardian Angels; which was altered from the Original, retaining only two Lines, and fitted to an excellent Piece of new Music by one of the Performers."¹

Since Hopkinson was, so far as we know, the only composer of music connected with the performance, Mr. Sonneck's hypothesis seems probable almost to the point of certainty.

Whether Hopkinson assisted William Smith in the revision of the masque must remain, in the light of evidence now at hand, undetermined. The Prologue, which assures the audience that the masque contains

No Thought to spread a Blush on Virtue's Cheek;
No Word but what an Anchorite might speak,

and the Epilogue, which warns the colonists against the dangers of Indian attack, are not among the Smith papers examined by Professor Quinn. Hence, it is not impossible that they are the work of Hopkinson, since the statement in the *Gazette* is not definite enough to preclude entirely his authorship. It is known that Hopkinson and the Provost collaborated on an "Exercise" presented at the college commencement of 1761.² This fact and the fact that Hopkinson, already a musician and poet, later became a songwriter make one loath to believe that he had no part at all in the revision.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.

² See *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 77.

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Available evidence, however, is rather against his authorship even of the Prologue and Epilogue. The newspaper account suggests, if it does not actually state, that the two hundred new lines and the new Prologue and Epilogue were written by the same person. Finally, the Hopkinson manuscript collections and *The Miscellaneous Essays*, in which are preserved two prologues and an epilogue prepared for similar occasions,¹ do not contain the Prologue and Epilogue of *The Masque of Alfred*, though they do contain a bit of verse addressed to a member of the cast whose singing won Hopkinson's admiration.

The poem referred to above is one of two that appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on February 10, 1757. The first, "To Miss HOPKINSON, on her excellent Performance of the vocal Parts in an Oratorial Exercise, at the College of Philadelphia," was by Jacob Duché; and the second, "To Miss LAWRENCE, for her Kind Assistance on the same Occasion," was by Francis Hopkinson. Neither of these effusions is very remarkable, but both were republished in the *Columbian Magazine* thirty-five years later,² and "To Miss Lawrence," as has been said, appears in *The Miscellaneous Essays*.³ Hopkinson's chief purpose, according to his own statement, was to spread the "growing fame" and praise the "early virtues" of the young lady. One stanza is perhaps more significant than the others because of the trend of thought it suggests:

'Twas nobly done to lend thy Voice
And soft harmonious Song,
When *Freedom* was the rapt'rous Theme
That warbled from thy Tongue.

Francis Hopkinson was graduated from the College of Philadelphia on May 17, 1757. The exercises of the day,

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-55.

² In March, 1792.

³ Vol. III, Part II, pp. 8-9.

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as announced in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of May 12, were as follows:

A PLAN of the COMMENCEMENT to be held here on Tuesday next, in the College and Academy Hall:

Prayers by the Rev. Mr. PETERS.

A Sermon adapted to the Occasion by the PROVOST.

A Salutatory Oration by Mr. JACKSON. And

A Thesis to be defended. . . . This closes the Forenoon.

IN THE AFTERNOON

Three other Theses to be defended.

Then the Degrees to be conferred.

Some Orations are to be spoken by some of the Students who have been admitted to Degrees; and a valedictory Oration to be spoken by Mr. JACOB DUCHÉ.

At this first commencement of the College of Philadelphia a number of degrees were conferred. Paul Jackson, who had been a member of the faculty since 1752 and had been appointed professor of languages in 1756, was given an M.A. in course. Francis Hopkinson, Jacob Duché, John Morgan, Samuel Magaw, Hugh Williamson, and James Latta were graduated B.A. Honorary M.A. degrees were conferred upon Theophilus Grew, professor of mathematics, and upon Ebenezer Kinnersley, professor of English and oratory in the academy. Josiah Martin, who had finished his course some time before and was then studying law in London, and Solomon Southwick, of Rhode Island, "who without the usual Foundation of critical Learning and Languages discovered an aptness worthy of Encouragement in Mathematics and some Branches of Philosophy," were admitted to the honorary degree of B.A.¹

The *Gazette* does not give the names of the persons who defended the theses and delivered the orations; but it seems improbable that Hopkinson, who was the most literary of

¹ Montgomery, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-87.

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the graduates, should not have been given a place on the program. Be this as it may, he received on that day one honor that is unique, for to him was given the first diploma issued by the institution that has since become the University of Pennsylvania. This diploma is still in existence, and may be seen today in the large volume of *Hopkinson Official Documents* deposited by the Hopkinson family in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The record of the first class of the little Colonial college is so remarkable as to call for at least a brief account of the individual members.

Paul Jackson, of Chester County, the first student of the college to receive a M.A. for work done in course, was of Scotch-Irish descent. In college he attained a high reputation by writing a number of brilliant Latin compositions, some of which were published. In 1758, being forced to give up teaching on account of tuberculous trouble, he secured a captain's commission in the army and took part in General Forbes's expedition against Fort Duquesne. His active life as a soldier restored his health for a time, and he next studied medicine and became a practicing physician in his native town of Chester, where he died in 1767.

James Latta was born in Ireland in 1732 and came to America when he was six years old. When his uncle, Dr. Francis Alison, became a member of the academy faculty, young Latta followed him there as a student in 1752. After his graduation he remained in the college as tutor until 1759, when he entered the ministry of the Presbyterian church. He served as a missionary in Virginia and North Carolina, and later became pastor of a church in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. In 1771 he removed to Chestnut Level, Lancaster County, where he added the direction of a

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school to his pastoral duties. According to tradition, he served as chaplain for a time during the Revolution. The records of the university show that in 1799 he was recommended by the trustees for the degree of D.D., but they do not show that any action was taken on the recommendation. Mr. Montgomery thinks, however, that the records are incomplete, and that the degree was really granted. This seems very probable because of the prominence of the candidate. He was an eloquent preacher, a scholar of reputation, the author of a considerable tract on psalmody, and the father of four Presbyterian preachers, three of whom were graduates of the university.

Dr. Alison was also instrumental in bringing to the academy Hugh Williamson, who, like Paul Jackson, was a member of a Chester County Scotch-Irish family. After receiving his degree, Williamson prepared for the Presbyterian ministry, but because of ill health he never took any regular appointment. In 1761 he returned to the college to take the position of professor of mathematics, which he held for three years. He joined the Provost in his support of the proprietaries, and even had the temerity to write a pamphlet attacking Franklin. In 1764 he went to Holland to study medicine. After his return, two years later, he contributed to the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, a series of articles which won him membership in the Holland Society of Sciences, and in the Society of Arts and Sciences of Utrecht. In 1772 he made a journey to the West Indies to raise money for the Academy of Newark, and later went to Europe on a similar mission for the College of Philadelphia. At the outbreak of the Revolution he came back to Pennsylvania, but soon migrated to North Carolina, where he did good service during the war as an army surgeon. After the conclusion

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of peace he remained for many years in the South, in which he became so much interested that he wrote a two-volume *History of North Carolina*. Like many other invalids, he was distinguished for longevity. His latter years were spent in New York, where he died in 1819 at the advanced age of ninety-four.

Samuel Magaw, after his graduation, went to England to read for holy orders. Returning to America after his ordination in 1767, he went to Delaware, where he spent several years in home mission work. He was an active participant in the conventions and assemblies of the Anglican church, of which he was a conspicuous leader. In 1781 he became rector of St. Paul's Church in Philadelphia; and from 1782 to 1791 he was vice-provost of the University of the State of Pennsylvania.¹

Of all the members of this class none was more distinguished in his own time than John Morgan. During his last year in college he began the study of medicine under Dr. John Redman, and after his graduation he enlisted as a surgeon in the French and Indian War. He remained in service until 1760, when he received a M.A. from the college, and went abroad for further study. After being awarded the degree of M.D. at Edinburgh in 1763, he did postgraduate work in France, Holland, and Italy—a remarkable course of training for an American physician of those days. In fact, his achievements were highly respected even in Europe, for he was elected a member of the Society of Belles Lettres in Rome, a member of the College of Physicians in Edinburgh, and a licentiate of the College of Physicans, and a Fellow of the Royal Society in London. After his return to America, at the age of twenty-nine, he founded the medical department of the college in 1765.

¹ See p. 239.

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On September 4 of this same year he married Mary Hopkinson, a sister of Francis Hopkinson, and a young woman of unusual beauty and charm.¹ In the fall of 1775 he was appointed director-in-general and physician-in-chief to the General Hospital of the American Army; he first took up his duties with Washington's forces at Cambridge, and later was transferred to New York. His progressive and energetic methods soon caused friction between him and his subordinates, and finally involved him in a bitter quarrel with his former friend and associate on the Medical School faculty, Dr. William Shippen.² The outcome of the whole trouble was a Congressional investigation, which led to Morgan's removal from office in 1777; a later investigation, however, completely exonerated him. The brilliant career of the founder of the first medical college in America was cut short by his death on October 15, 1780, at the age of forty-five.³

As conspicuous in public life as Dr. Morgan, but in a very different manner, was Jacob Duché, the last member of the class to be considered. Notwithstanding their association in college and their subsequent relationship by marriage, Morgan and Hopkinson were never on very intimate terms; Duché, on the other hand, was Hopkinson's closest friend. In the summer of 1759 he married Elizabeth, Francis Hopkinson's oldest sister, the "sweet harmonist" whose singing in *The Masque of Alfred* had

¹ For an account of the life of Mary Hopkinson see pp. 327-28.

² See pp. 309-10.

³ For more detailed accounts of the life of Dr. Morgan the reader is referred to Dr. Harvey E. Brown, *The Medical Department of the United States Army from 1775 to 1783*; Dr. Joseph M. Toner, *Contributions to the Annals of Medical Progress and Medical Education in the United States before and during the War of Independence*; and the *Journal of Dr. John Morgan of Philadelphia from the City of Rome to the City of London, 1764*. Dr. Morgan's portrait, by an unknown artist, is among the Hopkinson family portraits in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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inspired him to verse. His later career was so closely associated with Hopkinson's that further account of him must be reserved for a later chapter.¹

The students and faculty of the little college lived together on very cordial terms. William Smith, the first provost, was a Scotchman from Aberdeen who had come to America in 1751. His first position was that of tutor to the sons of Josiah Martin, a man of some prominence, whose house, known as the "Hermitage," was situated at Far Rockaway Point,¹ Long Island. When the young tutor was made head of the Philadelphia institution, in May, 1754, three of Martin's sons accompanied him, and became students in the academy. They had been in Philadelphia only a short time, however, when William Thomas, the second of the boys, was stricken by a sudden illness from which he died a few days later. The Provost's sermon, "On the Death of a Beloved Pupil," delivered on September 1, was published; and along with it were printed several attempts at elegiac verse, written by the classmates of the young man. To this "Collection of Tears," as it was called, Hopkinson contributed a poem, which bears the rather forbidding title, "To the Rev. Mr. William Smith, on Hearing His Sermon upon the Death of Mr. William Thomas Martin," and which divides praise impartially between the speaker and the departed. The author also saves a little admiration for his own emotional susceptibility, for he observes:

Taught by your voice, my artless numbers flow,
I sigh in verse, am elegant in woe.

Although these are probably the worst lines in it, the poem could hardly be called a masterpiece by even the most

¹ Sketches of the class of 1757 may be found in Montgomery, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-313.

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partial critic. Because of its connection with the early history of the college, however, it deserves the place Hopkinson has given it at the beginning of his collected verse.¹

In Hopkinson's collected works the poem, "To the Rev. Mr. William Smith," is followed by an "Ode on Music,"² which has already been mentioned as the poem which dates the beginning of Hopkinson's musical education, and furnishes the main evidence upon which Mr. Sonneck bases his hypothesis that Hopkinson acted as harpsichordist at the presentation of *The Masque of Alfred*.³ The "Ode" begins in a manner faintly reminiscent of Dryden, with an enumeration of the emotions inspired by music; and ends in a conventional description of heaven, where winged archangels sound perfect harmony,

While happy saints in concert join
To make the music more divine.

The poem is superior to its predecessor, perhaps, but it has little distinction.

Between the "Ode on Music" and the lines "To Miss Lawrence" Hopkinson has placed a bit of light complimentary verse beginning:

Beauty and merit now are join'd
An angel's form, an angel's mind
Are sweetly met in *thee*.

From the nature of its contents and its position in the book,⁴ this "Song," as it is called, would appear to have

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 3-4. The complete "Collection of Tears" is in *The Works of William Smith, D.D.*, I, 1-4.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 5-6. Most of Hopkinson's works can be dated. With a few exceptions the poems are printed in chronological order. His prose works are arranged in the same manner, but less regularly, especially in Vol. II.

³ See p. 53.

⁴ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 7.

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been written during his undergraduate days. In the last line, indeed, he falls into idiom strangely resembling that of the modern undergraduate:

The face that with such beauty charms,
The breast which so much virtue warms,
Is sure too much for me.

Of mortuary verse, always a favorite variety with young poets, Hopkinson produced a considerable amount. His first effort, written on the occasion of the death of William Thomas Martin, has already been mentioned; a second, also inspired by the death of a schoolmate, is his "To the Memory of William Willcocks, a Beloved Friend."¹ The title of this poem is slightly misleading, for, as Hildeburn has pointed out, William Willcocks was really Hopkinson's cousin. In a paragraph beginning with one of his characteristic involved sentences, Hildeburn says:

Robert Willcocks came from Dublin, Ireland, and about 1740 married a daughter of William Dyer, of Kent County, on Delaware, who died in 1712, leaving a widow, whose daughter by a second husband was the mother of Francis Hopkinson. He had two sons, William, the elder, died June 28, 1756, in his fifteenth year, whilst a student at the College and Academy of Philadelphia. The second son, John, was an Ensign in the 18th, or Royal Irish Regiment of Foot; he died in this city in November, 1772, and was buried with his father. He bequeathed his estate to the children of his kinsman Francis Hopkinson.²

The general character and tone of the poem are sufficiently indicated in the final couplet, which seeks to concentrate the didacticism of the whole elegy in an epigram:

Oh! may your fate this warning give to all,
"That old age *must*, and blooming youth *may* fall."

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

² Charles R. Hildeburn, *The Inscriptions in St. Peter's Churchyard*, p. 89. Robert Willcocks left £50 to Francis Hopkinson, whom he made executor of his will. This document, dated October 18, 1765, is in Mrs. Redwood's collection, deposited in the Library of Congress.

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This seems the most appropriate place to mention still another sample of obituary verse, "An Elegy on the Death of Mrs. Jane Wilcocks,"¹ which, although probably not written until 1758,² is connected with the foregoing poem by the author's footnote, "Her son, Mr. William Wilcock's³ [death] was the occasion of hers." At the beginning of the "Elegy" the author becomes so absorbed in the contemplation of his grief that he even calls upon the departed spirit to share his admiration of his own emotions:

Blest shade look down, my mournful accents hear,
Oh! see me shed the tender parting tear!

After a time, however, he becomes less introspective in his expressions of grief, and in the end he rises to sincere religious feeling:

What tho' thy body moulders into dust,
Thy spirit joins him mid th' encircling just.
E'en now I see thee on those heav'nly plains,
Where perfect bliss, and peace eternal reigns;
Where pain and sorrow can no more annoy,
But thy soul drinks of never ending joy;
Where all the bitterness of grief is o'er,
And death's cold pangs shall agonize no more;
There shalt thou listen to the heav'nly sound
Of cherubim and seraph chaunting round;
In songs celestial thou shalt there adore,
Him that shall last when time shall be no more.

On one occasion at least, probably during his undergraduate days, Hopkinson paid a visit to the Martin

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 39-41.

² It stands between "A Morning Hymn," which was first published in the *American Magazine* in January, 1758, and "Verses Inscribed to the Officers of the 35th Regiment," written in April, 1758.

³ It is amusing to observe that in the two poems Hopkinson is made to spell his aunt's last name in three different ways. It should be remembered, however, that *The Miscellaneous Essays* were published after Hopkinson's death; hence the numerous errors, particularly in punctuation, found in the book should not be charged to him alone.

BIRTH, EDUCATION, EARLIEST WRITINGS

family at Far Rockaway Point, Long Island. This visit he commemorated in a poem entitled "Hermitage, a Poem,"¹ which is "inscribed to Mr. Jacob Duché, Junior," who had also been a guest of the Martins. The place reminds Hopkinson of the Rev. Mr. Smith, who, as has already been stated, had served as tutor at the "Hermitage" before he became provost of the college and academy:

Oft did this happy grove resound
Strains sweeter far than mine;
Here sat the Bard, and here around
Stood the indulgent Nine.

Poetic music from his tongue
Harmonious roll'd away;
The birds in dumb attention hung
To hear his softer lay.

In these lines one would have a great deal of difficulty in recognizing William Smith, the sturdy churchman, practical man of affairs, and shrewd politician. The reference to Duché, on the other hand, happily suggests the true character of that young gentleman, who was ever distinguished for his gushing sentimentality:

And thou my friend, in later days,
Fill'd this resounding grove
With songs of matchless Delia's praise,
Soft as the breath of love.

Dear pensive youth, oft have you sought
At eve, the pleasing shade;
Your very soul wrapt up in thought,
As lonely here you stray'd.

Delia, one suspects, is Elizabeth Hopkinson, of whom the lovesick swain no doubt frequently talked to her brother, "Pyllades."

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 11-17.

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Although the poem contains thirty stanzas, the biographical material, in which the main interest lies, is soon exhausted. Pastoral groves peopled by Amandas, Delias, Seraphinas, bards, muses, and goddesses, seem strangely out of place in a description of Long Island, written in the middle of the eighteenth century. Yet before condemning the piece entirely one should remember that its artificiality is due to the convention of the age and not to the affectation of Francis Hopkinson.

The next work to which a date can be assigned is a poem in imitation of Milton, published six months after Hopkinson's graduation from college. Between it and "Hermitage" are printed two slight bits of verse which should probably be classified as undergraduate work. In "Hermitage" the writer begins by saying that

Whilst other bards in happier lays
The fair Amanda sing,

his muse is content with humble songs of sylvan scenes and rural prospects. "Advice to Amanda,"¹ which immediately follows, is the only other poem in which the name "Amanda" appears, and this fact suggests a connection between the two selections, which is strengthened by their juxtaposition.² The author, who assumes the conventional name of Strephon, "sighs his pain" and repeats his "tend'rest vows" after the approved manner of "swains." His "advice" is summed up in the sixth stanza:

No longer then, too cruel fair,
Defer the happy day;
But with thy love reward his care,
His tenderness repay.

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 18-19.

² Except where there is evidence of a break in the chronological arrangement, it will in the future be assumed without further comment.

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Hopkinson's undergraduate writings end with a four-line stanza carrying the rather top-heavy title, "An Epigram on the Death of a Favourite Lap Dog,"¹ and displaying, for all its brevity, the faults of artificiality and self-consciousness found in all this early verse:

CHLOE the muse records thy name,
And thou, tho' dead, shalt live in fame;
Yet know this honour, not to you,
But is to *Mira's* favourite due.

This account of the education of Francis Hopkinson shows that during his college career he took an active part in what are now called "activities," without forfeiting the good will of the faculty—an accomplishment requiring a certain amount of tact. He showed much interest in music and considerable talent for it. He displayed an equal amount of interest in verse-writing, but little poetic genius. Of prose written during these years there remain only the "Declamation" and the oration, On "Education in General," both of which are clear and vigorous specimens of undergraduate oratory. His writings in general reveal a wholesome amount of conventionality and youthful piety. On one occasion—when he and a few of his classmates defended the Provost against the attacks of the party of Franklin—he showed that he had the strength to stand by his convictions in the face of powerful opposition. This act derives additional merit from the fact that the Rev. Mr. Smith was probably in the wrong, because it indicates that the first graduate of the College of Philadelphia was not the type of youth who is wiser than his teachers.

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 20.

CHAPTER III .

PRACTICAL AND ARTISTIC EXPERIMENTS

After his graduation from college, Hopkinson studied law under Benjamin Chew, attorney-general of Pennsylvania; of his progress, a brief but entirely adequate record has been preserved in the following document:

At a Supream Court held at Philadelphia for the Province of Pennsylvania, April Term, 1761, Francis Hopkinson Esquire on the Motion of Mr Ross was admitted an Attorney of the said Supream Court, and took the Oaths directed by Law and the Rules of the said Court.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my Hand & the Seal of the said Supream Court this 26th day of October 1765.

EDW: SHIPPEN, JR.

*Curiae supremae protonotarius.*¹

Shortly after his admission to the Supreme Court² he began his long career of public service by acting as secretary to an Indian commission made up of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, Benjamin Chew of the Provincial Council,³ and others, who went to Easton, on the banks of the Lehigh, and made a treaty with the "Onandagoes, Cayugas, Oneidas, Mohickons, Nanticokes, Delawares, Tutiloes, and Conoys."⁴ This experience, which made a deep impression on Hopkinson, is commemorated in one of his longest poems.⁵

¹ *Hopkinson Official Documents* in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² In August, 1761.

³ It was quite the custom at that time for a man to hold more than one important office.

⁴ *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, VIII, 630 ff.

⁵ See pp. 113-16.

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His second political appointment, which he received on November 3, 1763, was thus announced in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*:

The Surveyor General has appointed FRANCIS HOPKINSON, Esq; to be Collector of the King's Customs at the Port of Salem, in the Province of New-Jersey, in the Room of ANDREW DEWAR, Esq; appointed to be Collector of His Majesty's Customs at the Island of Dominica.¹

His duties in this office were evidently administered by deputy, as he continued to reside in Philadelphia until his departure for Europe in 1766.

Of Hopkinson's early business and professional career the only record that the author has found is the following advertisement, which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser* on October 17, 1765:

This is to inform the PUBLIC.

That the subscriber, intending to follow the business of Conveyancing in all its branches, has taken a room for that purpose at the corner of Laetitia Court in Market-street. All those who may be pleased to favour him with their employ may depend on being served with all the fidelity, accuracy, and dispatch in his power.

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Hopkinson showed himself a true son of his parents by spending a great deal of his leisure time in the service of the Library Company and the church. For the former he acted as secretary from 1759 to 1769, and as librarian from February, 1764, to May, 1765; later, in 1771-72, he was a director of the company.² The record of his church work is preserved in a number of entries in the minutes of the vestry of Christ Church. The first of these entries, dated April 11, 1763, is as follows:

¹ This notice is reprinted in the *New Jersey Archives* (1st series) XXIV, 271. On p. 290 of the same volume is printed Hopkinson's warning to merchants who may contemplate trying to smuggle in rum, sugar, or molasses.

² G. M. Abbot, *A Short History of the Library Company of Philadelphia*, pp. 27-29.

LIFE AND WORKS OF FRANCIS HOPKINSON

The vestry resolved, at a meeting this day, that they would have a secretary, whose duty it should be "to collect the pew money of both churches [Christ Church and St. Peter's], oblige the clerk to account for all fees every month, attend the vestry at their meetings, and keep the minutes; and that he shall be allowed five per centum on all moneys received by him from the churches."

Francis Hopkinson, Esq., was appointed the secretary, agreeably to the above resolution.¹

In addition to the work for which he was paid, Hopkinson assumed two other tasks which he performed gratuitously. The first of these was to help organize the church library;² the second is described in the following extract from the vestry minutes of April 3, 1764:

The members of the vestry, who frequently attended while the children of the united congregations were improved in the art of psalmody, reported that they had observed Mr. William Young, in conjunction with the secretary, Mr. Hopkinson, to take great and constant pains in teaching and instructing the children; it was therefore unanimously agreed that the thankful acknowledgments of this board be given to Mr. Hopkinson and Mr. Young for these their kind services, which they are requested still to continue.³

The delight in music which prompted Hopkinson to train the children in psalmody led him in the years 1759-60 to make a collection of favorite musical selections, which he copied with painstaking care in a volume containing two hundred and six pages.⁴ Through this volume he scattered a number of his own compositions.

The first of these⁵ is Thomas Parnell's "Love and Innocence," which Hopkinson has set to music under the

¹ Benjamin Dorr, *An Historical Account of Christ Church*, pp. 138-39.

² J. W. Jordan, *Colonial Families of Pennsylvania*, II, 1191.

³ Benjamin Dorr, *op. cit.*, p. 147. Also O. G. Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson*, p. 31.

⁴ At the beginning of the collection is Hopkinson's seal and the inscription "Philadelphia Domini 1759"; the song on p. 180 is dated 1760.

⁵ On p. 63 of the collection.

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title "My Days Have Been So Wondrous Free." This is a very important song in the history of American music, for it is the support of Mr. O. G. Sonneck's statement, "On the basis of our present knowledge we might declare with safety:

FRANCIS HOPKINSON WAS THE FIRST NATIVE AMERICAN COMPOSER OF SONGS OF WHOM WE KNOW, AND HIS SONG "MY DAYS HAVE BEEN SO WONDROUS FREE" IS THE EARLIEST SECULAR AMERICAN COMPOSITION EXTANT, DATING BACK TO 1759.

Its only rival in antiquity is "Alfred, Father of the State," discussed in the preceding chapter.

"My Days Have Been So Wondrous Free" is initialed "F. H." Other songs in the collection which bear this signature are "The Garland" (p. 111), "Oh! Come to Mason Borough's Grove" (p. 163), "With Pleasure Have I Past [*sic*] My Days" (p. 169),¹ "The Twenty-third Psalm" (p. 179), and "An Anthem from the 114th Psalm" (p. 180). As to whether Hopkinson wrote the words as well as the music of these songs we have no absolute proof. None of them is included in any of his other manuscript volumes, or in his published works. On the other hand, Mr. Sonneck, who is an authority on music of the Colonial period, has not found these songs in any other collection. Hence, the origin of the words is a matter of speculation. Mr. Sonneck, who is better qualified than any other person to hold an opinion on this subject, has very courteously submitted to the author the following statement:

In reply to your letter of October 27th [1917] I wish to give it as my opinion, that the poems mentioned by you are more likely than not by Francis Hopkinson. Of course, in the absence of real proof it would

¹ Two volumes, each containing six of Hopkinson's songs, edited by Mr. Harold V. Milligan, were published by the Arthur P. Schmidt Co. of Boston in 1919. The first, *The First American Composer*, contains "My Days Have Been So Wondrous Free"; the second, *Colonial Love Lyrics*, contains "The Garland" and "With Pleasure Have I Passed My Days." See pp. 462-64.

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be dangerous to commit one's self on this point. Is it not possible that the volume or volumes of his original manuscripts contain these poems? If so, then of course the point is settled.

If you have not been able to find in any available eighteenth century song books and hymn books those texts, then that, too, would speak for the probability of Hopkinson's authorship. It would surprise me indeed to learn that he was not the author, except, perhaps in case of anthems. However, even in that direction the probability lies with his authorship.

Besides those bearing the initials "F. H.," there are several other songs in the collection which Mr. Sonneck is inclined, from internal evidence, to attribute to Hopkinson. These are an anthem beginning "Sing we praises to the Lord" (p. 157), "A Solemn Dirge in Romeo and Juliet" (p. 172),¹ an anthem from the Fourth Psalm (p. 175), an anthem beginning "Through all the changing Scenes of Life" (p. 176), and a hymn beginning "We adore and worship thee" (p. 187).

The literary value of these songs and hymns is too slight to call for any exhaustive study. To prove this, one need but quote one of the best examples of each—"The Garland" and "The Twenty-third Psalm."

THE GARLAND

The Pride of ev'ry grove I chose,
The Violet sweet, and Lily fair,
The dappled Pink and blushing Rose,
To deck my charming Chloe's Hair.

¹ One would naturally suspect that the words of this song were derived from some opera or operetta, but neither John Towers' *Dictionary Catalogue of Operas and Operettas* nor Clement and Larousse's *Lyrique ou Histoire des Operas* records any such English production written as early as 1759. After all, there is nothing about the style of the song to differentiate it from the others; witness the first stanza:

"Slow Rise, rise, rise, Heart-breaking Sighs,
The Woe-fraught Bosom Swell,
For Sighs alone and dismal Moan,
Should echo Juliet's Knell."

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At Morn the Nymph vouchsaf'd to place
Upon her Brow the various Wreath,
The Flow'rs less blooming than her Face,
Their Scent less fragrant than her Breath.

THE TWENTY-THIRD PSALM

The Lord himself—the mighty Lord
Vouchsafes to be my Guide,
The Shepherd by whose tender Care
My Wants are all supplied.¹

On May 5, 1763, there appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* an advertisement for “*A Collection of Psalm Tunes, with a few Anthems and Hymns, Some of them Entirely New, for the Use of the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter’s Church in Philadelphia, 1763.*” The name of the compiler is not given, but his identity is suggested by two striking bits of evidence.

The first of these is the dedication, which is in part as follows:

To the Reverend Mr Richard Peters, Rector of the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter’s Church, in Philadelphia.

Among your many Designs for the Promotion of Religion in general, and the Good of the Churches more immediately under your Care, permit me to hope this Attempt to the Improvement of our *Psalmody*, or *Church Music*, will meet your favourable Acceptance and Encouragement. Something of this kind was thought the more necessary, as it is highly probable there will be Organs erected in both our Churches, before it be long; which would be but a needless Expence, if the Congregations could not join their Voices with them in the singing of Psalms. For this Purpose I have made this Collection of Psalms, Hymns and Anthems, and prefixed a few Rules for Singing in as clear and easy a Manner as possible; so that Children, with very little Attention, may understand them.

¹ This volume, formerly in the collection of Mrs. Florence Scovel Shinn, of New York, is now owned by the Library of Congress. For a more complete study of the contents of the book, the reader is referred to Mr. O. G. Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson*, pp. 77–81 and 199–201.

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Since this dedication was written less than eleven months before the vestry of Christ Church passed a resolution thanking Hopkinson for his "great and constant pains in teaching and instructing the children" in psalmody, Hildeburn has attributed the authorship of the *Collection of Psalm Tunes* to Hopkinson.¹

Mr. Sonneck agrees with Hildeburn, and supports his opinion with an additional argument:

The title reads:

"A Collection of Psalm Tunes, with a few Anthems and Hymns. *Some of them entirely new.*"

It will be admitted that the words in italics signify that the entirely new tunes were written by the compiler himself. If therefore one of these can be traced to Hopkinson's pen the problem will be solved. Now, Francis Hopkinson's manuscript collection of 1759 contains on p. 179, composed by himself, the 23rd Psalm. *Comparison proved this manuscript piece to be identical with the 23rd Psalm as contained on pl. xx of "A collection of Psalm Tunes . . . 1763."*²

James Warrington, of Philadelphia, an eminent authority on psalmody, in a conversation with Mr. Sonneck, expressed the opinion that James Bremner, the organist, was the editor of the *Collection*. Later, on June 20, 1914, he wrote to Edward Hopkinson, Esq., that he had changed his mind:

Regarding my remark about the tune book published in 1763, printed by Sonneck (p. 89); that was only a suggestion, as at that time neither Sonneck nor I had made a thorough search, and it was not meant for print. When I had an opportunity to go into the subject, I had no hesitation in ascribing the book to Francis Hopkinson, as the evidence in his favor preponderates considerably.³

¹ C. R. Hildeburn, *Issues of the Press of Pennsylvania*, I, 387.

² Mr. Sonneck's discussion of *A Collection of Psalm Tunes* is on pp. 86-92 of his monograph.

³ Letter in the possession of Edward Hopkinson, Esq. Copies of the *Collection* are owned by Mr. Hopkinson and by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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Hopkinson's reputation as an authority on church music soon spread beyond the limits of Philadelphia. The first intimation of this fact appears in the minutes of the consistory of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of New York for May 22, 1764:

Resolved—That Mr. Evert Byvank be discharged from his engagement to versify the Psalms in English in the same manner as they are versified in the Low Dutch, and that the Committee with Mr. Hopkins [*sic*] inquire into the best method of doing this according to the genius of the English tongue, and the versifying be done accordingly.

On June 29 the matter came up in the consistory again:

A letter was read from Mr. Francis Hopkinson dated June 11, 1764, concerning the versifying of the Psalms of David in English in the manner proposed; and the Consistory agreed to pay him for altering what had been done forty pistoles, and for completing the whole one hundred pistoles, fifty of which shall be paid when the work on the new plan shall be half done if Hopkinson asks it; and since certain members are to pay the first mentioned forty pistoles, the Consistory agrees to repay them out of the first printed Psalm books or out of other funds; and shall also make the necessary arrangement for paying the last named 100 pistoles and the other needful expenses in versifying the Psalms.¹

Hopkinson went about his work so energetically that he was able on December 13, 1765, to write to Benjamin Franklin:

I have finished the Translation of the Psalms of David, to the great Satisfaction of the Dutch Congregation at New York & they have paid me £145 their Currency which I intend to keep as a Body Reserve in Case I should go to England.²

The book was published in the latter part of 1767. The title-page and the explanatory note to the reader indicate

¹ The two extracts from the minutes of the consistory are published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, VI, 124, with this explanatory note by the editor: "We are indebted to the Rev. T. W. Chambers, D.D., of New York, pastor of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, for the translations of the following extracts from the church records. They are the only ones in which the name of Mr. Hopkinson appears."

² Letter in the American Philosophical Society, *Franklin Papers*, I, 175.

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the nature of the contents of the volume, the circumstances that led to its publication, and the approximate date on which it was completed:

The Psalms of David, with the Ten Commandments, Creed, Lord's Prayer, &c. In Metre. Also the Catechism, Confession of Faith, Liturgy &c. Translated from the Dutch. For the Use of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of the City of New-York.

New York: Printed by James Parker, at the New Printing Office in Beaver-Street, MDCCLXVII.

TO THE READER

The Consistory of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of the City of New York, having, by Reason of the Declension of the Dutch Language, found it necessary to have the Divine Service performed in their Church in English; Have adopted the following Version of the Psalms of David, which is greatly indebted to that of Dr. Brady and Mr. Tate; Some of the Psalms being transcribed verbatim from their Version, and others altered, so as to fit them to the Music used in the Dutch Churches.

The Catechism, or Method of Instruction in the Christian Religion, as it is taught in the Schools and Churches of Holland, together with the Articles of Faith, Liturgy, &c. are translated from the Dutch; and having been carefully examined, are with the Psalms, approved of by the Consistory, and by them recommended for the use of their Church and Schools.

City of New York, November 9th, 1767

By Order of the Consistory.

Joannes Ritzema.

V D. M. P.T. Praes.

The phraseology of the consistory minutes, of the letter to Franklin, and of the title of the book is such as to create the impression that Hopkinson actually translated the Psalms from the Dutch into English, but this impression is probably erroneous. Of course it is not likely that he would have undertaken this task without some knowledge of the Dutch language; but since his writings make no references to Dutch literature, and since the library that he handed down to his descendants contains only one book in the

PRACTICAL AND ARTISTIC EXPERIMENTS

Dutch language,¹ it is not probable that his knowledge of that tongue was very profound. Moreover, the work that he did was of such a nature as to require the services of an expert psalmodist and versifier rather than those of a linguist. In the Dutch Psalter the stanzas were for the most part made up of four, five, or six ten-syllable lines. In the English Psalter, on the other hand, the verse form most frequently employed was the familiar "common meter," that is, iambic tetrameter alternating with iambic trimeter. What Hopkinson did, then, was to adapt Brady and Tate's Psalter² to the Dutch tunes. Such of the Psalms as were already in pentameter verse were probably "transcribed verbatim," and the rest were recast. The first two lines of the First Psalm will serve to illustrate the sort of changes made in this "translation." In Brady and Tate's version they read thus:

How blest is he, who ne'er consents
By ill advice to walk.

This in Hopkinson's version becomes

How blest is he, who ne'er consents to walk
By ill Advice, nor dares to stand and talk.³

Since Hopkinson's name is not mentioned in the Preface of *The Psalms of David*, it is probable that few people knew what part he had really taken in the preparation of the book. The fact that he was a composer of music evidently

¹ Edward Hopkinson, Esq., has a copy of Willem Sewel's *Korte Wegwyzer der Engelsche Taale* (*A Compendious Guide to the English Language*), published in Amsterdam in 1740. This contains the name of Joseph Borden (later Hopkinson's father-in-law) and the date 1742; also the name and bookplate of Francis Hopkinson. There is no evidence, however, that Hopkinson had any acquaintance with the Bordens previous to 1768.

² Nicholas Brady and Nahum Tate, *A New Version of the Psalms of David, Fitted to the Tunes Used in Churches*. The first edition was printed in London in 1696.

³ See O. G. Sonneck, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-95. The discussion of the meters employed by the Dutch and English Psalters, from which this account is derived, was prepared for Mr. Sonneck by James Warrington.

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led some of his friends to believe that he was the author of a part of the music in the book, and at least one person assumed that he wrote it all. In a copy of the Psalter owned by Edward Hopkinson, Esq., someone has written this note: "The music of this volume was composed at the request of the Consistory by Francis Hopkinson, of Philadelphia."¹

Another survival of Hopkinson's early musical work is a hymn which he wrote for the Easter service at Christ Church in 1766. The music—if he composed any—is lost, but the words have been preserved in an exceedingly rare folio leaflet. The "Psalm of Thanksgiving," as it is called, consists of three stanzas, and a chorus modeled on the familiar "Long-Meter Doxology." The last of the three stanzas, which is probably the best, runs as follows:

Religion learns from thee to shine,
Of purest Light the purest Ray;
Thus chearing with its Warmth divine,
It beams an universal Day.
From Cares that vex, or Joys that tire,
To perfect Bliss shall Man aspire;
And subject to thy boundless Reign,
Exult like thee to live, like thee to rise again.²

¹ Other copies of this rare book are to be found in the New York Historical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the Library of Congress. The copy owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania contains this interesting manuscript, written by William Kelby, formerly librarian of the New York Historical Society:

"While turning over the old record book of donations to the society I found the following entry:

"May, 1817. Presented by Egbert Benson, Ex-President, new version of the Psalms for the use of the Dutch congregation of N. York newly translated by Francis Hopkinson of Phila. (See memo. on cover of Mr. Benson.)' The volume was imperfect and the ignorant book-binder who thirty or forty years ago rebound the book destroyed the old cover and the 'memo.' is lost."

² The only one of these leaflets in existence, so far as the author of this work has been able to learn, is to be found in the Ridgway Branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia. Through the courtesy of Mr. Bunford Samuel, librarian of the Ridgway, the Harvard Library has been given a copy.

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At the commencement held on May 1, 1760, the College of Philadelphia conferred the degree of M.A. on all the members of the class of 1757,¹ thus following the English plan of awarding the higher degree to alumni three years after their graduation. For this occasion Hopkinson prepared what he called an "advent'rous lay," entitled "Charity, a Poem,"² written in praise of the chief of Christian graces, "first in virtue's train," "bright offspring of the skies." The poem, which is written in heroic couplets, begins with a description of Charity, whose works are compared with those of Ostentation, a very different person, who sometimes assumes her name. The writer then praises the wise charity that helps poor children of ability to gain an education, and compliments the trustees of the college, who maintained a charity school in which seventy children are enrolled:

Of deeds like these, oh! who shall sing the praise,
Weak is the muse, and feeble are her lays—
But angels silver-tongu'd from heav'n shall part
To whisper blessings to the bounteous heart:
And those who justly *Charity* regard,
Will find that virtue is her own reward.

At this commencement a musical program was given, in which Hopkinson probably had a part. In an announcement published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of April 14 occurs this sentence: "Besides the Orations and Disputes by the *Candidates*, there will be occasionally some Pieces of Music and Psalmody by the *Charity-Boys*." The *Gazette* does not inform us who was the director of this part of the exercises, but we have good reason to believe that he was Francis Hopkinson. The poem that Hopkinson composed

¹ Hopkinson's M.A. diploma is to be found among the *Hopkinson Official Documents* in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 56-58.

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for the occasion shows that he was interested in the children of the charity school. The fact that he later became much interested in teaching young people to sing church music¹ makes it very probable that he trained the singers who performed on this occasion.

Whatever the significance of the sentence quoted above, there appears in the account of the exercises published in the *Gazette* of May 15 an item that almost certainly refers to him:

One of the Students, who received his Master's Degree on this Occasion conducted the Organ with that bold and masterly Hand, for which he is celebrated; and several of the Pieces were also his own Composition. In a Word, the whole gave great Satisfaction to Strangers as well as others; and certainly such improvements in useful Science and polite Arts, in this part of the World, must give a high Pleasure to every ingenious Mind.

This Master of Arts, as Mr. Sonneck has suggested,² could hardly have been anyone but Francis Hopkinson, who, so far as we know, was the only organist in the class, and certainly the only composer.

In the next commencement of the college, held on May 23, 1761, Hopkinson had a still more conspicuous part. The graduation exercises, which were held in the morning, were followed by a performance which the *Pennsylvania Gazette* describes as follows:

. . . . In the Afternoon [there was performed] an ODE, sacred to the memory of our late gracious Sovereign George II.³ written and set to Music in a very grand and masterly Taste, by FRANCIS HOPKINSON, Esq; A.M. of the College of this City. A Sett of Ladies and Gentlemen, in order to do Honour to the Entertainment of the Day, were kindly pleased to perform a Part both of the *Anthem*⁴ and *Ode*,

¹ See p. 70.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 30 and 81.

³ George II of England had died on October 25, 1760.

⁴ "An Anthem," by James Lyon, M.A., of the College of New Jersey, mentioned earlier in the account.

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accompanied by the Organ, which made the Music a very compleat and agreeable Entertainment to all present.¹

The nature of this performance is more accurately indicated in *The Miscellaneous Essays*,² where the poem is printed under the title, "AN EXERCISE: Containing a DIALOGUE and ODE, sacred to the memory of his late gracious majesty GEORGE II." Two explanatory notes inform us that the ode was set to music by Hopkinson and that the dialogue was written by Dr. Smith.³

The music has been lost, but the poem is preserved, not only in Hopkinson's collected works, but also in a quarto pamphlet published by William Dunlap, the Philadelphia printer.⁴ The structure of the "Exercise" is very simple: Eugenio and Amyntor, meeting by chance, discuss the sad event, and rehearse the virtues of the dead king; then the choir continues the praises of the departed in an "Ode," consisting of a recitative, two airs, and a chorus. After listening to these, Eugenio confesses that the music has somewhat assuaged his grief and reminds the audience that things might be worse, "Since *George the Second* in the *Third* still lives."

The second "Air" is sufficient to illustrate the general style of the "Ode":

The glorious sun, *Britannia's* king,
Withdraws his golden light:
His setting ray
Glides swift away,
And yields to conq'ring night.

¹ The account, published in the *Gazette* of May 28, 1761, is reprinted in the *New Jersey Archives* (1st series), XX, 572.

² Vol. III, Part II, pp. 77-82.

³ During a visit to England in 1759 the Provost was given the degree D.D. by Oxford University.

⁴ A copy of the pamphlet is owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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Down in the deep and dreary tomb
His mortal part must lie;
And ev'ry bell
Now tolls his knell,
Tears flow from every eye.

Far o'er the wild and wat'ry waste,
Hear the loud cannons roar;
'Till winds convey
The sounds away,
That die along the shore.

But, lo! his sainted soul ascends
High thro' th' ethereal road;
And *Briton's* sighs
Like incense rise,
To waft him to his *God*.

This performance must have been satisfactory to the "vast Concourse of People of all Ranks"¹ who heard it, as the author was the next year called upon for another production, to which he responded with "AN EXERCISE; Containing a DIALOGUE and ODE, on the Accession of his present gracious majesty GEORGE III." The presentation at the commencement held on May 18, 1762, is briefly described in the following notice from the *Pennsylvania Journal*:

. . . . A *Dialogue* and *Ode*, on the Accession and Nuptials of his MAJESTY, closed the whole Performance. The Ode was written and set to Music by one of the Sons of this Institution, and excellently performed by a Sett of Gentlemen, who kindly and generously employed their agreeable Talents to do Honour to the Occasion.²

The history as well as the structure of this poem is almost exactly the same as that of the previous "Exercise."

¹ The words of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 28, 1761.

² *Pennsylvania Journal*, May 27, 1762; duplicate account in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of the same date.

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It was published by Dunlap in 1762,¹ and reprinted in the collected works,² with the statement that the "Dialogue" was written by Jacob Duché. In the "Ode" Hopkinson predicts the glories of the reign of George III, in words that are certainly fatal to the author's reputation as a prophet, whatever their effect upon his standing as a poet:

The sweets of liberty shall care beguile,
And justice still her happy influence spread,
Religion cheer him with a sacred smile,
And bid the crown sit lightly on his head.

A little earlier in the same year Hopkinson brought out another poem which, on account of its subject matter, and for another reason which will appear in a moment, should be considered along with these commencement exercises. The publication of this poem was announced in the following advertisement, which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on March 11, 1762:

This Day is published, neatly printed in a
Quarto Pamphlet,
(Price One Shilling and Sixpence)
SCIENCE, a POEM.

By FRANCIS HOPKINSON, Esq;

Doctrina sed Vim promovet insitam

Rectique Cultus Pectora roborant. HOR.

Sold by James Rivington, William Dunlap,
David Hall, and William Bradford, in Market-street;
and at James Rivington's Stores in New York and Boston.³

This poem, the most ambitious piece of writing Hopkinson had attempted so far, consists of two hundred and twenty-

¹ Copies of Dunlap's edition are owned by the Library Company of Philadelphia and by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 83-88.

³ Copies of the original edition are preserved in the Library of Congress, the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the John Hay Library, at Brown University.

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eight lines of heroic couplets, prefixed by an elaborate dedication to the Trustees, Provost, Vice-Provost, and faculty of the college and academy. The author begins with an apostrophe to science, after which he traces the student through his college course from matriculation to graduation. The courses of study mentioned are oratory; the classics; mathematics; "Nature's vast volume," or science; and "Ethic learning," which seems to include all branches of philosophy. His lines describing the student of oratory—the subject on which Dr. Smith laid so much stress, and which he believed to be "a branch too much neglected in other institutions"—are interesting and suggestive:

There first her youthful vot'ry learns to please
By just expression and becoming ease—
Delightful task, with early care to teach
The lisping tongue propriety of speech.
See on the stage the little hero stands,
With eyes uplifted, with extended hands;
Or from his lips Pope's liquid numbers flow,
In streams mellifluous—See the conscious glow
Burns on his cheek—perhaps the strains inspire
The infant raptures of poetic fire.

Hopkinson dismisses the graduate with a metrical version of the Provost's charge to the class of 1757, and ends with a prediction of time to come, when education (science) shall transform the American wilderness into the peaceful home of Religion, Justice, and Liberty.¹

The poem evidently attained some popularity. On April 19, 1762, the author published in the *New York Mercury* the following notice:

¹ "Science" is published in *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 92-101.

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WHEREAS, Andrew Steuart, of Philadelphia, Printer, hath lately in a clandestine Manner and without the Consent or Knowledge of the Author, republished a Poem of Science, in a very incorrect Duodecimo Pamphlet, in order to undersell the first Edition; The Author of the said Poem therefore hopes that the Public will not lay to his Charge the gross Errors of that spurious Edition; but attribute them either to the Ignorance or Malice of said Steuart. This Practise, however iniquitous it may appear, is nevertheless common with this Printer: And the Author would not have troubled himself or the Public with so undeserving a Subject, if he had not thought so much necessary, to clear himself from the Absurdities of said Steuart's Publication, to those who may not have known the Circumstances of this Affair.

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This statement is followed by an advertisement of the first edition, and an announcement that Hugh Gaine, the printer of the *Mercury*, is issuing a third edition, to be sold at "Three Pennies single, One Shilling per Dozen, or Six Shillings a Hundred." The printer, who is evidently resolved not to be undersold by Steuart, gives this as his reason for bringing out a cheap edition:

The extraordinary Beauties that, at first Sight, appeared in this well-wrote little Piece, made me wish that it might, by a general Circulation, become more universal than it was like to do, the Price being Eighteen-pence:—This being the Opinion of many besides myself, I was therefore induced to publish a neat and cheap Edition; not from any lucrative View, but only to promote the Circulation of so excellent a Piece—I therefore hope that neither the Author, nor any one else, will imagine that I intended to

..... "Rob him of his Gain,"

Nor that my design was

"To reap the labour'd Harvest of his Brain."

The commencement program of 1763 makes no mention of Hopkinson. This is very surprising in view of the fact that the collected writings contain an "Ode," which, according to the author's statement, was "designed for a

¹ Republished in Paul Leicester Ford, *Journals of Hugh Gaine*, I, 108.

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public commencement in the College of Philadelphia,"¹ and which, from the nature of its contents, would have been appropriate for no other commencement but that of 1763. At this time the Provost was in England, where he had been for more than a year collecting money for the college. Hopkinson's "Ode" is a song of praise to the king, who has given Dr. Smith some encouragement; to the people who have contributed; and to the Provost himself. Of the first the author says in part:

Hail to the king! whose virtuous heart
Directs his lib'ral hand,
To stretch o'er wide extending seas,
And bless a distant land.

A footnote informs the reader that this quatrain refers to "his gracious majesty George III, who granted a brief for making a collection through the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, for the benefit of this institution."

The contributors receive commendation in these words:

A gen'rous throng demands our love,
Who in a desert wild,
Heard infant science cry for help,
And nurs'd the drooping child.

Hopkinson's note explains that the "gen'rous throng" are "the many benefactors who freely contributed on this occasion." The question of who was in the "desert wild" seems also to require elucidation, but this problem the author leaves to the ingenuity of the reader.

And can the muse forget his toil,
Who compass'd sea and land
To rear the tender plant which oft
Had felt his pruning hand?
Oh! let his care and unexampled love,
Our just return of warm affection move!

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Part II, pp. 89-91.

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These lines, says the poet, refer to "the rev. Dr. Smith, who carried about the brief and received the contributions."

Why then was this carefully prepared and seasonable "Ode" not delivered? The answer is to be found in a letter written by the Rev. Richard Peters, president of the Board of Trustees, to the absent Provost:

I am sorry to tell you that a foolish but tart difference has arisen between the Faculty and our good Friend Francis Hopkinson on account of a grammatical squabble, wherein Mr. Hopkinson was the Aggressor, but he did not mean to offend any of the Faculty, only to expose Stuart the Printer; I should not mention this, but only to inform you that the Faculty applied to Sam. Evans to write the Dialogue and to Mr. Jackson to write the Ode for them, Mr. Duché and Mr. Hopkinson declining to have anything to do with it by means of this squabble about Grammar. My Endeavours to reconcile prov'd unsuccessful. It is unfortunate that we have not at this time any publick performance more worthy of being laid before the Publick. You must make the best Apology you can.[†]

The meaning of this rather puzzling letter is explained in the following note by Mr. Thomas Harrison Montgomery:

This foolish but tart difference arose out of the publication by "Andrew Steuart for the College and Academy of Philadelphia, MDCCLXII" of *A Short Introduction to Grammar, for the Use of the College and Academy in Philadelphia; being a New Edition of Whittenhall's Latin Grammar with many Alterations, Additions, and Amendments from antient and late Grammarians*. Hopkinson's humor was too lively for him to let pass the opportunity of making some jest of this ambitious little book. And next year there appeared *Errata; or the Art of Printing incorrectly: Plainly Set Forth By a Variety of Examples Taken from a Latin Grammar Lately Printed by Andrew Steuart, For the Use of the College and Academy of this City*.

Still her old Empire to restore she tries,

For, born a Goddess, DULNESS never dies.—Pope.

Philadelphia, MDCCLXIII.

[†] This letter, which is dated May 28, 1763, is published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, X, 350.

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As the writer finds "151 Capital Blunders" in 137 pages, he says "Our worthy Printer, *A. Steuart*, fired with a laudable zeal for the Honour of *America*, and scorning to tread the servile Paths of Imitation, has ventured to strike out a Method of Printing entirely new; the many Advantages of which it is our present Purpose to set forth, in the best Manner we are able. It has been observed, then, that Mr. Steuart has been employed to print a *Grammar* for the Use of our *Academy*; which, after a long space of Time, he has done in so artful a Manner, that, without the Help of this our *Errata* or List of Mistakes, or some other like it, it is indeed no *Grammar* at all. For, as *Grammar* is justly defined, *That Art which teacheth to write and speak correctly*, that Book which of itself teacheth no such Thing cannot properly be said to be a *Grammar*. So that this our Work may well be called a Key to the said Book; without which it must remain unintelligible. . . . This *Grammar* is not the first, and very probably will not be the last effort of his Genius; but we think ourselves happy in being the first to notice it to the Public, and in preventing others from mentioning this Performance of his to his Dishonour, by giving it the laudable Turn we have done in our Preface." Hopkinson's humor was taken seriously, for it assured the death of Steuart's print of the work of the Faculty, who doubtless relied upon him for correct proof reading.¹

It will be observed that Mr. Montgomery has assumed that the *Errata* was unquestionably written by Hopkinson. This assumption, even though it has the support of Charles Evans' *American Bibliography*, rather puzzled the author of this work, who found no reference to the pamphlet in the manuscripts left by Hopkinson. An examination of the *Errata*² failed to solve the problem, because the pamphlet is unsigned. Hopkinson's authorship, of course, seemed probable: The fact that Steuart had offended him by publishing a pirated edition of *Science* would furnish a motive for the attack; the *Errata* itself has the mock seriousness that characterizes much of Hopkinson's humor.

¹ *A History of the University of Pennsylvania*, pp. 363-64.

² The *Errata* is owned by the Ridgway Branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

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Conclusive proof, however, seemed to be lacking until the author happened to remember a fragment that he had found in a manuscript volume of Hopkinson's verse, owned then by Mrs. Florence Scovel Shinn, of New York,¹ now in the Edward E. Huntington Library, at San Marino, California. This fragment, a bit of comic doggerel, and the metrical atrocity that occasioned it are as follows:

On reading the following Lines in a Short Introduction to Latin Grammar.

THIRD DECLENSION

"The Third are Males in *er, or, os, n, o*,
Long Words are Feminine in *do* or *go*,
Most Nouns in *io* likewise *haec* procure,
With *as, aus, es, is, ex*, and *s* impure.
Nouns ending in *c, a, l, e, t, ar, men, ur, us*,
May to the neuter Kind be plac'd by us."

EPIGRAM

Thus, learn'd Professors with poetic Bray
In melting Strains would rigid Rules convey,
Not half so tuneful sings the Midnight Owl;
Not half so tuneful Sons of Bitches howl.
Hail! Bard sublime! when you your notes prolong,
Ducks quack, Pigs squeak, Geese scream to
 join your Song,
Such magic Powers to Poesy belong.
But from such Music, from such heav'nly
 Squall
Good Lord deliver *me, him, them, you, us*,
 & all.

The next step was to look for the rule in Steuart's *Grammar*, where it was found on page 58.² Finally, the author-

¹ Mrs. Florence Scovel Shinn, the well-known illustrator and writer, is a direct descendant of Francis Hopkinson. The author is very deeply obligated to her, not only for the privilege of examining her valuable collection of Hopkinson manuscripts, but for her personal assistance in deciphering and transcribing them. For further information about this collection of manuscripts see pp. 181-82.

² This book is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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ship of the *Errata* was established beyond question, by the discovery of Steuart's reply to Hopkinson, a pamphlet entitled *The Ass in the Lyon's Skin: Luckily Discovered by His Braying*,¹ in which the author of the *Errata* is referred to as "Francis" and "our little critic."

This, then, is the train of circumstances that led to the tart difference between the faculty and their good friend, which resulted in the omission of Hopkinson's name from the 1763 commencement program.

Though temporarily out of favor with his Alma Mater, Hopkinson was not without academic honors in 1763, for on September 26 the College of New Jersey conferred upon him the honorary degree of M.A., "as a proper testimony of [his] literary merit."²

At the commencement of 1765, held on May 30, there was given a "Dialogue" which commemorated two important but rather dissimilar events, the close of the French and Indian War and the successful conclusion of Dr. Smith's endowment campaign in England. In the catalogue of the library of the University of Pennsylvania, and in Oscar Wegelin's *Early American Plays*, this "Dialogue" is attributed to Hopkinson; but the fact that it is not found in his published works or in any of the collections of his manuscripts makes his authorship seem improbable. Nevertheless the "Dialogue" itself contains evidence that the author was familiar with the "Ode" that Hopkinson had prepared for the commencement of 1763. The "Ode" of 1763 has a chorus beginning:

Rise! rise! ye sons of science, rise!

¹ *The Ass in the Lyon's Skin* is to be found in the Ridgway Branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

² His diploma is among the *Hopkinson Official Documents* in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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The chorus of the "Dialogue" begins:

Sons of Science! loudly sing.

The "Dialogue" contains this quatrain:

Infant Science call'd for aid,
Mournful in a distant wild;
Bands of worthies by him [the King] led
Joyous, nurs'd the drooping child!

This is certainly reminiscent of Hopkinson's lines previously quoted:

A gen'rous throng demands our love,
Who in a desert wild,
Heard infant science cry for help,
And nurs'd the drooping child.

A comparison of these last two passages would surely make one hesitate to assert positively that Hopkinson did not write the "Dialogue," even though it is not found in any of the collections of his writings.

John Sargent, a London merchant and a friend of Benjamin Franklin, about this time showed his interest in the American college, and his desire to preserve harmony between England and the Colonies, by offering two gold medals as college prizes. One, called the "Classical Prize," was to be given to the undergraduate who should prepare the best oration on "Roman Education"; the other, the "English Prize," for which anyone who had ever been connected with the college might compete, was to be awarded for the best essay on "The Reciprocal Advantages Arising from a Perpetual Union between Great Britain and Her American Colonies." The negotiations over details lasted two or three years, so that it was not until March 6, 1766, that the terms of the contest were announced in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. On May 8 the trustees of the college read the essays and awarded the English Prize. They an-

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nounced that the undergraduates who had competed for the Classical Prize "had imprudently and for want of experience, discovered their mottoes and consequently their names to each other, so that the Authors of the several Pieces were generally known both within and without Doors," and that consequently the awarding of the Classical Prize had been postponed until the next year. Nine candidates appeared for the English Prize, which was awarded to Dr. John Morgan.

Four of these essays, or "dissertations" as they were called, together with the "Eulogium" delivered by Dr. Smith at the presentation of the medal, were published not long after this by William and Thomas Bradford.¹ The second of the *Four Dissertations*, by Stephen Watts,² and the third, by Joseph Reed,³ resemble Dr. John Morgan's prize essay in showing very careful preparation; the fourth, by Francis Hopkinson, is a very hasty piece of work, which owes its publication less to its merits than to Dr. Smith's partiality for the author. This the honest Provost practically confesses in his Preface to the book:

¹ On June 12, 1766, the *Pennsylvania Journal* advertised "*Four Dissertations, on the Reciprocal Advantages of a Perpetual Union between Great Britain and Her American Colonies, Written for Mr. Sargent's Prize Medal. To Which (by Desire) is Prefixed an Eulogium, Spoken on the Delivery of the Medal at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 20th, 1766.*" Printed by William and Thomas Bradford, at the London Coffee House MDCCLXVI." This book was sold by subscription; copies owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the John Carter Brown Library, at Providence, R.I., contain lists of the subscribers, from which it appears that Hopkinson took six copies, his mother and brother one each, and Jacob Duché two.

² He was a tutor in the college.

³ Joseph Reed, a graduate of the College of New Jersey and a law student in the Middle Temple, was given an honorary degree by the College of Philadelphia in 1761. In Revolutionary days he took a prominent part in state and national affairs and held many important offices, including those of member of the Continental Congress, adjutant general of the American army, secretary and aide de camp to General Washington, and president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

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The fourth little piece is the production of an ingenious son of the College, in his own easy unpremeditated way. He has by many compositions done honor to the place of his education; and by this, which was only the sudden work of a few hours of that day, in which the other pieces were under examination, he meant not to come in competition for the prize, but only to throw his mite into the general stock.¹

At the same commencement at which the Sargent prize was awarded,² there was given an "Exercise" which, according to the newspaper accounts,³ was "written, chiefly, by one of the Candidates, THOMAS HOPKINSON, A.B." According to the *Pennsylvania Gazette*:

The Dialogue was spoken by Mr. Richard Lee, and Mr. Phineas Bond, and the Odes were sung by the two Master Banksons, accompanied by the Organ, and the whole was received with the utmost Marks of Approbation from a candid Audience.

If Thomas Hopkinson did not write the whole poem, he may have had some help from his brother, who had had considerable experience as a writer of commencement odes. It is even more probable that Francis Hopkinson was the person who played the organ on this occasion. This, however, is all entirely a matter of conjecture.⁴

From 1752 to 1754 a company of English actors, under the management of Lewis Hallam, toured the Central and Southern Colonies. In 1754 the company went to Jamaica,

¹ Hopkinson himself did not consider this essay sufficiently important to be included among his collected works. The *Four Dissertations*, however,—thanks to the numerous friends of the authors who subscribed for the volume—are almost as accessible as *The Miscellaneous Essays*. The University of Pennsylvania, Harvard University, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the Library of Congress each owns a copy, while the Yale and Brown libraries contain two each.

² For a fuller account of the Sargent medal contest the reader is referred to T. H. Montgomery, *A History of the University of Pennsylvania*, chap. ix.

³ In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of May 29 and June 5, and the *Pennsylvania Journal* of June 5. The *Gazette* published the "Exercise" in full.

⁴ The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has *An Exercise Containing a Dialogue and Two Odes Performed at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 20, 1766*.

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where the manager died. Four years later Mrs. Hallam, who had in the meantime married David Douglass, returned to this country as leading lady of a company managed by her husband. In the company were her sons, Lewis and Adam Hallam. After playing in New York from December 28, 1758, to February 7, 1759, the company came to Philadelphia. Because of the opposition of the Baptists, Quakers, and other sects to theatrical performances,¹ Douglass did not attempt to play in the city, but built a theater at Vernon and Cedar streets, just outside the city limits. This was the first theater erected in Philadelphia; earlier companies had used a remodeled warehouse.² On June 25, Douglass opened "the New Theatre on Society-hill," as the *Gazette* called it, with a presentation of Rowe's *Tamerlane*, in which Lewis Hallam took the part of Bajazet, and Mrs. Douglass that of Arpasia. For the occasion Hopkinson was asked to prepare a "Prologue" to be recited by Mr. Hallam, and an "Epilogue" for Mrs. Douglass.³ Since both speeches emphasize the moral elements of the play, they were probably written to answer the objections of the opponents of the stage. The opening lines of the "Prologue," in particular, give a sensible and comprehensive exposition of the functions of the drama:

To bid reviving virtue raise her head,
And far abroad her heav'nly influence shed:
The soul by bright examples to inspire,
And kindle in each breast celestial fire:

¹ J. T. Scharf and Thomas Westcott, *A History of Philadelphia*, I, 254.

² For the early theatrical and dramatic history of Philadelphia, see Professor Arthur Hobson Quinn, *A History of the American Drama*, pp. 8-31.

³ The announcement of the performance published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on June 21, 1759, does not name the author of the "Prologue" and "Epilogue." The verses themselves, however, appear in Hopkinson's collected writings, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 50-53. They are accompanied by notes stating for what occasion they were written.

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For injur'd innocence to waken fear;
For suff'ring virtue swell the gen'rous tear;
Vice to expose in each assum'd disguise,
And bid the mist to vanish from your eyes,
With keener passion, that you may detest
Her hellish form, howe'er like virtue drest:
The muse to cherish, genius to inspire,
Bid fancy stretch the wing, and wit take fire—
For these we come—for these erect our stage,
And show the manners of each clime and age.

On December 27 of the same year the company closed its engagement in Philadelphia with a benefit performance, which was announced in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* as follows:

By PERMISSION, and by particular DESIRE, toward the Raising [of] a Fund for purchasing an ORGAN for the COLLEGE HALL in this City, and instructing the Charity Children in PSALMODY, At the THEATRE on *Society-Hill*, this Evening will be presented, the tragical and interesting History of GEORGE BARNWELL. . . .

Before the Play, and between the Acts several celebrated Pieces of Concert Music will be performed by some Gentlemen of this City, who have kindly consented to promote the Design of this Entertainment; for which Purpose a neat Harpsichord will be provided.

Also, a Prologue in Praise of MUSIC will be spoken by Mr. *Hallam*; and an occasional Epilogue by Mrs. *Douglas*.

To which will be added a FARCE called LETHE, or AESOP in the Shades. . . .

N.B. As this Benefit is wholly intended for improving our Youth in the divine Art of PSALMODY and CHURCH MUSIC, in order to render the Entertainment of the Town more compleat at Commencements, and other public Occasions in our COLLEGE, it is not doubted but it will meet with all due Encouragement from the Inhabitants of the Place.¹

This announcement is exasperating because it fails to name the persons who planned the benefit, wrote the "Prologue" and "Epilogue," and took part in the musical

¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 27, 1759.

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program. We know, however, that Hopkinson wrote the "Prologue," which bears the secondary title, "In Praise of Music."¹ The fact that he had written both speeches for the first-night performance of the company would lead one to suspect that he wrote the "Epilogue" as well as the "Prologue" for this occasion, but we have no evidence that he did so. Indeed, the statement that the proceeds of the benefit were to be used in buying an organ and in instructing the children in psalmody, and that someone was to perform on a "neat harpsichord," suggests that Hopkinson organized the benefit and took part in the musical program—but this again is pure conjecture.

The fact that Hopkinson was frequently called upon to write poems to be recited on important public occasions indicates that he was already a writer of reputation in his own city; but the poems themselves, though interesting to the historian, have not sufficient literary value to merit a detailed study. Less interesting to the student and hardly more so to the general reader is another group of occasional poems, inspired by the eternally dramatic commonplaces of birth, marriage, and death, and written for his personal friends.

The earliest of these, "An Elegy on the Death of Mrs. Jane Willcocks," probably written in 1758, was discussed in the preceding chapter.² The second, "An Elegy Sacred to the Memory of Josiah Martin, Esq. Jun. Who Died in the Island of Antigua, June, 1762,"³ was written in honor of a schoolmate, a brother of William Thomas Martin, who was the subject of one of Hopkinson's earliest poems. In

¹ It is published in *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 54-55, with a note stating that it was "spoken by Mr. Hallam, at a play given for purchasing an organ for the college-hall in Philadelphia."

² See p. 64.

³ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 70-72.

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this elegy one would expect to catch some interesting glimpses of the college in its early days, but the author is so absorbed in eulogy and moral reflections that he condenses his personal reminiscences into this vague couplet:

Say, can I e'er forget those blissful days
When hand in hand we trod the flow'ry maze?

In the *Occasional Writings* the elegy on the death of Martin is followed by "An Epitaph for an Infant,"¹ an undated poem which reveals nothing as to the identity of the subject except that the child was a girl.² It is known, however, that Jacob Duché's eldest child, Sophia Maria, who was born on August 10, 1761, died on August 27, 1762,³ two months after the death of Martin; and it therefore seems highly probable that the "Epitaph" was written for this child.

The last of the elegies of this period was written "To the Memory of Mrs. Ann Graeme,"⁴ a Philadelphia woman of distinguished family, who died in the summer of 1765. The poem is "humbly inscribed to Mrs. Ann Stedman and Miss Eliza Graeme, surviving daughters of the deceased," the second of whom plays an important part in a later chapter of this biography.⁵ This elegy, like all those which precede it, is stiff, artificial, didactic; a single stanza will

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

² "Thro' the bright regions of yon azure sky,
A winged seraph, now she soars on high;
Or, on the bosom of a cloud reclin'd,
She rides triumphant on the rapid wind."

³ Charles P. Keith, *Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania*, p. 277.

⁴ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 129-32. The poem is dated "Graeme Park, July, 1765." The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has a manuscript copy of this elegy.

⁵ See p. 270.

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sufficiently illustrate these common characteristics of them all:

Monimia's gone! up to the lofty skies
Methinks I see her sainted spirit rise;
Methinks I hear her voice triumphant sing,
"Grave where's thy victory? *Death* where's thy sting?"

Four short poems, all undated and all addressed to persons that have not been identified, complete the list of personal lyrics written by Hopkinson between the years 1757 and 1766. With those should be mentioned a fifth, which, although it was not occasioned by a birthday, wedding, or funeral, belongs here by association.

The first of the poems, "To Celia on Her Wedding Day,"¹ is a fanciful conceit, made up of a dialogue between Cupid, who has sworn that no dart of his shall ever wound Celia's breast, and Hymen, who forces him to break his vow. The next three are all addressed "To Rosalinda on Her Birthday"²—a circumstance which might suggest that the author experienced for the subject of the verses a sentimental attachment of some duration. In the first two, however, there is little to warrant this assumption. Both are invocations to the "auspicious" day of Rosalinda's birth, and neither contains anything but compliment of the most stereotyped and conventional sort. The third, in which we are informed that Rosalinda is now a "timely wife," contains a little more evidence of personal feeling. The author welcomes the day with less exuberance than he had shown on preceding anniversaries, and the whole poem breathes a spirit of gentle melancholy, which implies that he did not contemplate the timely event with unmingled pleasure. For example, he observes that

Life is a narrow span contracting fast,

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 61-64.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 108-9, and 110-11.

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and laments that

Time is the great deceiver of mankind.

He commits Rosalinda to the leadership of "mild religion," and forecasts in rather cheerless fashion her arrival in heaven,

. . . . where angels with their harps divine
Shall celebrate [her] happier birth-day there.

Even more suggestive of a youthful love affair is a poem entitled "Extempore Verses from the Top of Mount Parnassus, a Lofty Hill in Lancaster County," which in the *Occasional Writings* follows the three birthday poems.¹ This is in reality another Rosalinda poem, for though the author asserts that the distant hills ravish his sight, he soon forgets them in contemplating Rosalinda, who is standing by:

She is my muse, and doth my soul
With glowing thoughts inspire:
Her cheering smiles shall make me feel
More than a poet's fire.

Indeed, the verses end with a stanza which a susceptible young lady might take for a positive declaration:

In some such blest retreat as this,
Let me my hours employ,
And *Rosalinda* still be near,
To brighten ev'ry joy.

Rosalinda, then, must have occupied Hopkinson's thoughts for a considerable time, but his poems in her honor indicate nothing more than the sentimental reflections of romantic youth.

In October, 1757, there was published in Philadelphia the first number of the *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle for the Colonies*. The primary purpose of this

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 112-13.

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periodical was to support the cause of the Crown against France, and to maintain the prestige of the Penns in the colony;¹ but the publishers, who on the title-page are vaguely designated as a "society of gentlemen," sought also to encourage letters by reserving a section of the magazine for "poetical essays." The editor was Dr. William Smith, who showed his partiality for his favorite pupil by publishing in the first issue of the magazine Hopkinson's "Ode on Music," which had been written three years before.²

The establishment of the new magazine evidently revived Hopkinson's literary ambitions, for in November he almost filled the space allotted to "poetical essays" with two long poems, which bear the not very original titles of "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso."³ Both imitate in general form and subject matter the poems for which they are named. In the first the author summons Joy,

In likeness of a laughing boy,

to conduct him on a pleasure excursion, which leads them in summer through conventional rustic scenes, and in winter to the dance and other gaieties of the town. In the second, Melancholy is invoked to guide him through a stormy summer night to a lonely spot where he may reflect pensively on the sorrows of disappointed love. When summer changes to winter, he would remain by the fire, musing over tales of wandering specters until the embers die and his fears drive him to bed.

Neither of the poems is particularly distinguished for

¹ A. H. Smyth, *The Philadelphia Mazazines*, pp. 28-29.

² See pp. 53 and 62.

³ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 21-27 and 28-38. The first is dedicated to Benjamin Chew, and the second to William Smith.

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beauty or originality. The first has a decidedly pastoral flavor. The Pennsylvania woods are described as

. . . . the waving groves
Where the turtle cooes her loves,
Where the linnet's warbling lay
Still attends my flow'ry way;
And the lark's melodious song
Charms me as I go along.

Among "blooming vales," "hillocks green," and "tufted meadows," "harmless lambkins sport and play," while Thyrsis, the shepherd, tunes his "oaten pipe." Other persons mentioned in the poem bear such names as Phillis, Chloe, Damon, and Mira. "Il Penseroso" is not quite so artificial as its companion piece. In it the whippoorwill takes the place of the lark and linnet, but she is spoken of as

The fond repeater of her name.

The author's feet stray over the green

Along whose yellow gravelly side,
Schuylkill sweeps his lucid tide.

No shepherds or shepherdesses appear, but the scene is dimly lighted by "Cynthia's cold declining rays," and the silence is disturbed by the voice of the "bird of eve." Yet the inventor of these pastoral scenes lived in the shadow of the Pennsylvania wilderness, in which dwelt the savages that two years before had slaughtered the army of General Braddock.

Hopkinson contributed nothing to the December *American*, but in the January issue he published an "Ode on the Morning," which was later reprinted in his collected works under the title of "A Morning Hymn."¹

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-38.

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Neither the description of the sunrise, with which the poem begins, nor the invocation to the Creator, with which it closes, contains any lines of sufficient lyric beauty to merit quotation or discussion.

In February the magazine published a poem entitled "Upon Seeing the Portrait of Miss xx——xx by Mr. West." These verses, which are interesting because they are the first public recognition of the talents of Benjamin West, are signed "Lovelace," but they have been attributed to Francis Hopkinson,¹ on evidence which, though entirely circumstantial, seems very plausible.

In the first place, Hopkinson was an intimate friend of West. This is indicated by the part he took in a romantic incident that preceded the artist's marriage. Before going abroad, West had become engaged to Betty Shewell, a member of a prominent Philadelphia family. Miss Shewell's relatives, who did not wish her to marry a struggling young artist, rejoiced when West left the country, because they thought he would trouble them no more; but their rejoicing turned to chagrin and rage when West, who had won recognition in England, sent for his fiancée to come to London to be married. Stephen Shewell, Betty's brother, refused to allow her to go, and even went so far as to lock her in her room until the ship on which she intended to take passage had sailed. At this crisis three of West's friends—Benjamin Franklin, William White (who later became a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal church), and Francis Hopkinson—planned and carried out a dramatic jail delivery. They sent the captive a rope ladder by which she escaped from her prison, and they conducted her by carriage to Chester, sixteen miles below the city, where her ship was awaiting her. Here she joined West's

¹ By Anne Hollingsworth Wharton, in her *Heirlooms in Miniature*, p. 41.

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father, with whom she went to London, where she married and lived happily ever after.¹

West, while still unknown to the world, found patrons in the Hopkinson family, who continued to show a friendly interest in his career long after he had left America. He is known to have painted the portrait of Mary Johnson Hopkinson owned by Mrs. Elizabeth Borden Biddle, of Philadelphia; and he is believed to have painted the two unsigned miniatures of Thomas Hopkinson and Mary Johnson Hopkinson owned by Mrs. Francis Tazewell Redwood, of Baltimore.² Mrs. Redwood has also a beautiful portrait of Mary Hopkinson Morgan, which, according to a family tradition, was copied from a miniature by West that has since been lost. Francis Hopkinson's nephew, Thomas Spence Duché, studied art under West in the eighties; and there is a family tradition that Hopkinson himself, who spent part of the winter of 1766-67 with the Wests in London, was also a pupil of the artist.

The fact that Hopkinson was a friend and admirer of Benjamin West and a regular contributor to the *American Magazine* makes one suspect that he might have written "Upon Seeing the Portrait of Miss xx——xx by Mr. West." A comment in the Editor's Preface to the "Poetical Essays" also suggests his authorship:

The first upon one of Mr. WEST'S Portraits, we communicate with particular pleasure, when we consider that the lady who sat, the painter who guided the pencil, and the poet who so well describes the whole are all natives of this place and very young.

¹ This story, which is told in Anne Hollingsworth Wharton, *op. cit.*, pp. 48 ff., and in Rebecca Harding Davis, "Old Philadelphia," published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, in April, 1876, is too pretty to compel immediate acceptance. Nevertheless, I have found in Hopkinson's correspondence evidence indicating that the tale has some basis of fact. See pp. 138-39.

² See pp. 29 and 40-41.

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On the whole, then, it seems highly probable that "Love-lace" was really Francis Hopkinson.

The author of the poem does his work rather well, especially at the end, where he manages a double compliment very neatly:

Yet sure his flattering pencil's very unsincere,
His Fancy takes the place of bashful truth,
And warm Imagination pictures here
The pride of beauty and the bloom of youth.

Thus had I said, and thus deluded thought,
Had lovely *Stella* still remained unseen,
Where grace and beauty to perfection brought,
Makes every imitative art look mean.

In the March number of the *American Magazine* appears a long poem, "On the Invention of Letters and the Art of Printing," addressed to Samuel Richardson and signed "Kent County, Maryland." It has a Preface stating that the author, who lives "in a neighboring government," was a friend of Pope's. It displays the erudition of the writer by referring to the literary celebrities of all nations and times, from Cadmus to Richardson, and it is footnoted like a Ph.D. thesis. The verses obviously could not have been written by Hopkinson, yet through a curious misunderstanding they have been attributed to him. The error arises from a statement in Mr. Albert H. Smyth's *The Philadelphia Magazines*:

Many wild conjectures have been made as to the identity of the Kentish man who contributed this long, careful and learned poem to American literature, but the author has hitherto remained unknown. In the summer of 1891, while reading in the British Museum, I found a copy of the *American Magazine*, annotated throughout in a contemporary hand and apparently the gift of a Philadelphian to an Englishman who had visited the Colonies. This would seem to be evident from the character of the notes, which read sometimes like the following:

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"This poem was written by Francis Hopkinson *whom you will remember in Philadelphia.*"

Unfortunately, many of the historical notes have been cut away in the binding of the book. In this volume the author of the poem in question is named and clearly defined. To James Shirley, the author of "The Parricides" and "The Rival Generals," must be given whatever credit this poem written in Maryland can confer upon its author.¹

There is no great ambiguity here, but there is enough to lead Mr. Francis Howard Williams, writing for the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*,² to assert that Mr. Smyth attributes the poem to Hopkinson. This is, of course, a double inaccuracy, since Mr. Smyth expressly states that the author was James Shirley.

In April, 1758, Hopkinson wrote a poem entitled "Verses, Inscribed to the Officers of the 35th Regiment on Their Embarkation for the Expedition against Louisbourg." This did not appear in the *American Magazine*, the pages of which were for some months gorged with the pedantry of Shirley, but it is preserved in *The Miscellaneous Essays*.³ It begins with a long and rather conventional description of the spring, which, for some unknown reason, is said to be

. . . . the season whose warm rays inspire
Heroic bosoms with a martial fire.

The poet then exhorts the officers, who have spent the winter

In scenes of pleasure and in pastimes gay,
to leave the scene where "to please and be pleas'd" was
all their care.

Go, seek for conquest where loud tumults reign,
Where death runs liquid o'er the impurpled plain;

¹ Pp. 35 ff.

² XVII, 31.

³ Vol. III, Part II, pp. 42-44.

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Where victor's shouts, and vanquish'd warrior's cries }
In clouds of smoke promiscuously arise, }
And undistinguish'd reach the vaulted skies;
Where desolation stalks the tragic field,
Where Britons conquer and where Frenchmen yield.

Then comes a brief description of the fleet at anchor, followed by an invocation to heaven to favor the English cause.

In August of the same year Hopkinson published a poem, "On the Late Successful Expedition against Louisbourg,"¹ to celebrate the capture of the French stronghold on July 27. After a conventional invocation to the muse, the author describes Britannia watching the battle from a cliff, and awaiting in "dread anxiety of doubt" the outcome of the conflict. To her, "from the realms of everlasting light," flies Victory, bearing a crown of laurel, and bidding Britannia rejoice in triumph. The poet then gives a description of the celebration that followed, and ends with these characteristic lines:

But let the few, whom reason makes more wise,
With glowing gratitude uplift their eyes;
Oh! let their breasts dilate with sober joy.
Let pious praise their hearts and tongues employ;
To bless our *God* with me let all unite,
He guides the conq'ring sword, *he* governs in
the fight.

This concludes the list of poems that Hopkinson is known to have contributed to the *American Magazine*, which had an existence of just a year, from October, 1757, to September, 1758. It is likely, however, that he was the author of a poem entitled "Verses Inscribed to Mr. Wollaston,"² which appears in the final issue of the publication.

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 47-49.

² This was John Wollaston, who painted portraits of Martha Washington and of John Randolph's grandmother.

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Hopkinson's tastes and ambitions make it probable that he would wish to encourage a promising young artist; a complimentary reference to West connects the verses with the "Lovelace" poem in the February number; and the signature "F. H." seems practically to settle the matter.¹

It has been said that Hopkinson's poems are arranged in the *Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings* in something like the order of composition. This will appear from the following list of the poems included in the first one hundred and thirty-two pages of the "Poems on Several Subjects," printed in the third volume.² In this list enough poems have been dated to indicate the plan of arrangement, and to enable us to give approximate dates to the others.

To the Rev. William Smith [written in September, 1754]

Ode on Music [written in 1754]

Song

To Miss ——(Lawrence) [published on February 10, 1757]

To the Memory of Mr. William Willcocks [William Willcocks died on
June 28, 1756]

Hermitage, a Poem

Advice to Amanda

An Epigram on the Death of a Favourite Lap Dog

L'Allegro [published in November, 1757]

Il Penseroso [published in November, 1757]

A Morning Hymn [published in January, 1758]

An Elegy on the Death of Mrs. Jane Willcocks [her death was caused
by that of her son]

Verses Inscribed to the Officers of the 35th Regiment [written in April,
1758]

Song

¹ Anne Hollingsworth Wharton attributes the poem to Hopkinson; see *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

² The poems on pp. 133 ff. can be dated—most of them exactly, all approximately. They were written after 1765.

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On the Late Successful Expedition against Louisbourg [published in August, 1758]

A Prologue Spoken by Mr. Lewis Hallam [on June 25, 1759]

Epilogue for Tamerlane [spoken on June 25, 1759]

A Prologue in Praise of Music [spoken on December 27, 1759]

Charity, a Poem [spoken at the commencement of the College of Philadelphia on May 1, 1760]

Description of a Church

To Celia, on Her Wedding Day

A Paraphrase on the 107th Psalm

An Elegy Sacred to the Memory of Josiah Martin [he died in June, 1762]

An Epitaph for an Infant [a child of Jacob Duché's died in August, 1762]

Disappointed Love

An Exercise [performed in May, 1761]

An Exercise [performed in May, 1762]

An Ode [prepared for the commencement of 1763]

Science; a Poem [published in March, 1762]

A Morning Hymn

An Evening Hymn

To Rosalinda, on Her Birthday

To Rosalinda, on Her Birthday

To Rosalinda, on Her Birthday

Extempore Verses from the Top of Mount Parnassus

Dirtilla, a Poem

A Sentiment

The Treaty [begun in 1761]

An Elegy Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Anne Graeme [written in July, 1765]

Of this list, the poems written previous to Hopkinson's graduation from college were considered in the second chapter. In the present chapter most of the poems written between 1757 and 1765 have been discussed under three general divisions: poems written for public occasions; poems written to commemorate birthdays, weddings, and funerals; and poems written for the *American Magazine*. This leaves in the list nine poems which, for convenience,

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may be grouped according to subject matter in four or five classes.

The earliest of the nine is a little "Song"¹ addressed to the "heav'nly goddess, queen of love," by a maiden who begs the deity to keep her absent lover constant and to give her dreams of him. With this may be grouped "Disappointed Love,"² the lament of a girl for her sweetheart, who is dead. The title of the first and the structure of the second, which consists of a "recitative" and an "air," suggest that the poems were set to music, though the accompaniments have not survived.

The companion pieces, "A Morning Hymn" and "An Evening Hymn,"³ are, as the titles imply, devotional in tone. In the first, the author thanks the Creator for his protection through the night; in the second, he summons his own soul at the close of day to meditation and prayer. The general character of both hymns is illustrated in the concluding stanzas of the first:

When shall my eager spirit rise,
And soar above these floating skies?
Oh! when with hosts seraphic join,
To sing thy majesty divine?

In realms where no returns of night,
Shall e'er the tim'rous soul affright?
But one eternal blaze of day,
Shines forth with unremitting ray?

With the two hymns may be placed the "Paraphrase on the 107th Psalm,"⁴ which, like all other metrical versions of the Psalms, falls far short of the original in vigor and beauty of expression. The comparison of a single verse of

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 45-46.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 74-76. ³ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-3, 104-6. ⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-69.

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the King James Version with the corresponding lines of the "Paraphrase" will illustrate the weakness of the latter. In the original, the following verse is repeated several times as a refrain:

Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men.

This in the "Paraphrase" becomes

Oh! that the nations, with united voice,
Would in the mercies of the Lord rejoice;
His holy name in hallelujahs bless,
And all the wonders of his pow'r confess!

The "Description of a Church"¹ is rather hard to place in the chronological list of Hopkinson's writings. Its position in the book would indicate that it was written between 1760 and 1762; but if it is an actual description of a real church, it could not have been written before Hopkinson's visit to England in 1766-67, for it describes a building more pretentious than any that existed in America at that time.

The massy walls, which seem'd to scorn the rage
Of battering tempest and of mouldering age;
In long perspective stretch'd, till breadth and height
Were almost lost in distance from the sight;
With monumental decorations hung,
They spoke mortality with silent tongue.
.....
Far in the west, and noble to the sight,
The gilded *organ* rears its tow'ring height.

Lines like these would hardly be appropriate in describing any church smaller than a cathedral, while another passage referring to bones buried under marble pavements suggests Westminster Abbey. In spite of all this detailed description, however, we should give the verses the earlier date.

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 59-60.

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The poems growing out of Hopkinson's visit to England, eight in number, are grouped together in *The Miscellaneous Essays* on pages 133-44. If the "Description" belonged in this group, it would in all probability be found there. Since more than half the poem is taken up with a description of the feelings aroused in the author by the sound of the church organ, it seems very likely that the poem was written at the time of the installation of the organ at the College of Philadelphia in 1760,¹ or possibly when the organ was installed in St. Peter's Church in 1763. Other details of the poem could have been suggested by Christ Church and St. Peter's, in both of which the dead are buried. In fact, Hopkinson's sister, Mary Morgan, was buried under the floor of St. Peter's,² as were two children of Jacob Duché. Of course neither of the Philadelphia churches has the spaciousness suggested by the foregoing passages, but Hopkinson's imagination could easily have produced the necessary expansion.

The three remaining poems were first published in a series of letters which bear the unique signature "Tamoc Caspipina." This absurd name, which is an acrostic made from the initial letters of the words "the assistant minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's in Philadelphia in North America," is the pseudonym of Jacob Duché, who, at the time when he first published the epistles, held the title from which he derived his uncouth nom de plume. The letters first appeared serially in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, beginning on March 2, 1772; later they were published by Dunlap, the Philadelphia printer, in a volume

¹ See pp. 95-96.

² This is stated in a letter written by Hopkinson to his brother-in-law, Dr. Samuel S. Coale, of Baltimore, on January 8, 1785. The letter is in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

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entitled *Observations on a Variety of Subjects, Literary, Moral and Religious*; and still later they were reprinted under different titles in Philadelphia, Bath, London, and Dublin.¹

In his fifth letter Caspipina gives an account of a jaunt into Lancaster County, and a description of the Dunker settlement at Ephrata. At the end of the description he quotes a poem, which he introduces as follows:

By way of concluding this little narrative, I beg leave to transcribe a copy of verses which P—r M—r, the present head of this society, put into my hands, telling me, that they were composed by a young gentleman of Philadelphia some years ago, in consequence of a visit he made him, and a conversation which then passed between them.

The poem is Francis Hopkinson's "A Sentiment,"² occasioned, as the author explains in a note, by a conversation with Peter Miller, one of the Dunker leaders.³ The verses begin with a stanza reminding the reader that, since God can read the unuttered thoughts of the worshippers,

The secret motives only will prevail.

Next follows a rather effective contrast of the ritualistic church service with the simple Dunker meeting, and the reasonable suggestion that either method of worship may be acceptable

If but the *love divine of God* is there,
The spirit genuine of unfeigned pray'r.

¹ Two Philadelphia editions were published in 1774. The Bath and Dublin editions, published in 1777 and 1792, respectively, bear the title *Caspipina's Letters*. I have found a London edition, dated 1791, which bears the original title, *Observations*.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 118-19.

³ For further information about him the reader is referred to Lucy Forney Bittinger, *The Germans in Colonial Times* and *German Religious Life in Colonial Times*.

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The poem then concludes with this prayer:

Oh! let the *Christian* bless that glorious day,
When outward forms shall all be done away;
When we in spirit and in truth alone
Shall bend Oh! God! before thy awful throne;
When thou our purer worship shalt approve,
And make returns of everlasting love.

In the sixth letter, Caspina quotes some verses written by Hopkinson during his visit to England in 1767;¹ and in No. 13 he submits a poem of his own entitled "An Elegy Written at Sea, Aug., 1762,"² and two of Hopkinson's written about 1761. These he introduces with the following note:

I here transcribe three pieces of American poetry, from manuscripts, which were very obligingly communicated to me by the authors, who are by no means anxious for poetical fame, but now and then, as they express it, scribble a few lines for the amusement of themselves and their friends. The first is an episode extracted from a poem called *The Indian Treaty*, which is not yet finished³

In Hopkinson's collected works⁴ the verses that Duché called "The Indian Treaty" appear as "The Treaty; a Poem," with this explanatory note:

This poem was written upon the banks of the river Lehigh, in the year 1761, when the author served as secretary in a solemn conference held between the government of Pennsylvania and the chiefs of several Indian nations.

The discrepancy between the statements of Hopkinson and Duché may be explained by assuming that at the time *Caspina's Letters* were published Hopkinson was planning to make "The Treaty" an episode in a longer poem. This

¹ See pp. 153-54.

² Duché sailed for England in June, 1762.

³ The rest of his note discusses the merits of the three poems in the author's pompous manner.

⁴ Vol. III, Part II, pp. 120-28.

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assumption seems reasonable because "The Treaty" was the longest and most ambitious piece of writing that Hopkinson had produced up to that time.

The poem, which is "humbly inscribed to the honourable Thomas and Richard Penn, proprietors of the Province of Pennsylvania," begins with a description of the forest. One or two verses, like

And the dusky mountains melt into the sky
and

Far off is heard the plunging torrent's roar,

have poetic qualities, but for the most part the description is tame and conventional enough. The Lehigh's "sylvan stream" "murmurs" through "luxuriant groves," in which the "gay musicians" "attune their warbling song," while "light wing'd breezes bear the strains along." Then follows a description of an Indian massacre and a tragic story of two lovers captured by the savages. Next the author pictures the Easton Council, which he seems to have found very impressive:

See from the throng a painted warrior rise,
A savage *Cicero*, erect he stands,
Awful, he throws around his piercing eyes,
Whilst native dignity respect commands.
High o'er his brow wantons a plumed crest,
The deep vermilion on his visage glows,
A silver moon beams placid round his breast,
And a loose garment from his shoulders flows.
One nervous arm he holds to naked view,
The chequer'd wampum glitt'ring in his hand;
His speech doth all the attic fire renew,
And nature dictates the sublime and grand.

This rather effective description is followed by a contrast of the native eloquence of the savage with the artificial oratory of those trained in schools, who too often "only

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study how to puzzle well." The poem concludes with a description of a ball game and archery contest, which may be drawn from observation; and of a war dance, for which the author must have drawn upon his imagination. At intervals throughout the poem the author compliments the proprietaries in passages like the following:

For thee, illustrious Penn! my song I raise,
Oh! let the muse thy wonted favour claim:
For thee I lonely tread the rustling maze,
And bid *thy* woods resound their master's name.

"The Treaty" illustrates most admirably the power of convention over writers. Nothing could be more picturesque than that council of Indians, frontiersmen, and half-savage interpreters, but Hopkinson translates his impressions into images derived from literature. The Indian orator is to him a "savage Cicero"; the athletic contests remind him of the Olympian games; and the war dance suggests the ecstasies of the Pythoness of Delphi. One would think an Indian raid rather a hard subject for a poet of the Queen Anne school to deal with, but Hopkinson has no difficulty in fitting his material to the conventional pattern. The captives are a shepherdess named Rosetta and her lover Doris, a shepherd, who fights like Alexander to release her from her captors. The unreality of the whole tale is illustrated in the description of the death of the lovers:

Absorb'd in sorrow on a turf reclin'd!
Rosetta lay, all wan with wasting grief;
Her lot severe, she ponder'd in her mind,
And look'd from death alone to find relief—
She starts alarmed at a sudden cry,
The well known voice of *Doris* strikes her ear,
Half-rais'd she looks around with tearful eye,
To see if much lov'd *Doris* was not near:

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Oh! mournful object for a soul distrest!
Fast to a tree she sees her shepherd bound:
A mortal arrow planted at his breast,
And his life bubbling from the recent wound!
Struck with an instant frenzy of despair,
Thro' all her frame she feels the chill of death;
Flies to her just expiring love, and there
Sinks at his feet with closing eyes, and sighs
her latest breath.

In his last contribution to *Caspipina's Letters* Hopkinson introduced a type of writing very different from anything that he had previously published. Its title, "Dir-tilla,"¹ is the name of a goddess of the author's invention, whom he invokes in a solemn manner, and to whom he vows allegiance in these words:

Rebellious beaux, and washer-women strive,
But strive in vain with never ending war
To overcome thy pow'r—still thou return'st,
And still they labour on with fruitless toil,
Sworn foes to thee, thou sober-visag'd dame;
Not so thy bard—full well he knows to gain;
And having gain'd, thy favour still to keep,
E'en now wide spreading o'er my honour'd coat
Full many a spot, full many a greasy smear,
Thy influence benign and pow'r declare;
Driving far thence, of new impressed cloth
The gawdy [*sic*] glare—ne'er to return again.

He then describes the misery of those who are so interested in their clothes that they cannot enjoy food and drink,

. . . lest, in some guardless hour,
A dreadful spot should sully all their pride.

No such fears trouble him:

I eat and drink with pleasure unallay'd;
Nor care I ought, if from the dripping spoon,
The falling drops enrich my sullied garb.

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 114-17.

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Next the author pays his respects to one "Lunanius," whose supreme devotion to the goddess excites his admiration:

Oh! could I like *Lunanius* boast thy love,
Thy fav'rite vot'ry *he*, far, far beyond
My utmost reach, my greatest hope aspires,
His honour'd chamber thou vouchsaf'st to make
Thy chosen seat, thy undisturb'd abode.

This part of the poem, particularly the description of the bed, Dirtilla's throne, is a little too vivid to please the ultra-fastidious, but to those who knew the grimy "Lunanius" it must have been extremely funny. The poem closes with a prediction that Dirtilla shall triumph over all her enemies:

Wrapt in prophetic vision, I behold
The times approach, when all thy foes,
Humbled in dust, shall own thy gen'ral sway:
For well we know, that all things are but dirt—
And beaux and belles, and all the soapy train
Of washing-women, and of scouring men,
Must yield to thee, and into *dust* return.

"Dirtilla" is significant, not for its poetic beauty, but because it is one of the earliest examples of Hopkinson's humorous poetry—a type of writing for which he was later famous, and for which, probably more than anything else, he is now remembered. It therefore serves as a fitting conclusion to the account of the second period of Hopkinson's life. During this period, the years between his graduation from college in 1757 and his departure for England in 1766, he seems to have led a rather dilettante existence. He made some effort to establish himself in his profession, but apparently was not very successful. His leisure, which seems to have been abundant, he employed in a generous and

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public-spirited manner in the service of the college, the Library Company, and the church. He received a couple of small political appointments, which doubtless stimulated the ambition for a public career that led him finally to go to England for the purpose of seeking more substantial preferment. His chief interest, however, was in the arts. He encouraged the ambitions of Benjamin West, and probably tried his own hand at painting. Before he went abroad, he had established a high reputation throughout the middle Colonies as an authority in music, and had become well known in Philadelphia as a poet. He had as yet hardly attempted prose, but had already produced about two-thirds of his total output of verse, much of which is interesting as historical material, but none of which can claim any great merit as poetry.

CHAPTER IV

VISIT TO ENGLAND

It has already been mentioned that in the summer of 1765 Mary Johnson Hopkinson asked Franklin to collect for her some information about her family in England, and that shortly after this she began a correspondence with Sarah Johnson, sister to the Bishop of Worcester.¹ Mrs. Hopkinson's chief motive may have been, as Franklin says, "that natural curiosity which people have to know something of their relatives," but it is probable that she had also a more practical purpose. This purpose was to send her eldest son to England, in hope that his powerful relatives there might help him to improve his prospects, which up to this time had not been very encouraging.

Although the Bishop of Worcester was an extremely kind and generous man,² he did not accept his newly discovered³ relatives without scrutiny, as will appear from the following letter written by Franklin to James Burrow:

CRAVEN STREET, May 10th 1765

SIR,

In the papers you returned to me yesterday, I find a Memorandum that you had "told the Bishop of Worcester of his Relatives in the West Indies, of whom he seemed desirous to be further informed."

I therefore send you the following short Account of those who live in Philadelphia, which if you think proper may be communicated to his Lordship.

M^{rs} Hopkinson, Daughter of M^r Baldwin Johnson, is greatly esteemed by the People of this Place, as a prudent and good Woman.

¹ See pp. 17-19.

² Sarah Johnson's letter of June 14, 1766, to Mary Hopkinson mentions seven relatives who were dependent on the Bishop wholly or in part.

³ Sarah Johnson says, "I have often inquired after your father & was told he had no Family."

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Her Husband, M^r Hopkinson, was in Repute as a Lawyer, sometime Judge of the Admiralty Court, and one of the Governor's Council; Great Confidence was plac'd in him wherever he was employ'd, as he was not only an able Man, but of great Integrity. He left her a Widow about 12 years since, with 5 young Children, two sons & three Daughters to bring up. These she has carefully educated, genteelly, but frugally, out of the Income of a small Estate, and I believe without much diminishing their Portions. Her eldest Son, Francis, had a College Education at Philadelphia, where he took his Degree, has since read Law under the Attorney General, but still lives with his Mother, and has not entered into any material Business as yet. He is a very ingenious young Man, and is daily growing in Esteem for his good Morals & obliging Disposition. The oldest Daughter, an amiable Woman, is married to M^r Duché, a young Clergyman of the Church of England, a Native of this Place & of a good Family. He study'd sometime at Cambridge in England, where I saw him in 1759, a gentleman Commoner. He was ordained here in 1762, and has a Church at Philadelphia, where he is much follow'd as a serious Preacher, and at the same time admir'd for his singular Eloquence in the Pulpit. Another of these valuable Daughters I have heard is shortly to be married to D^r Morgan, a young Physician, who has distinguished himself by his great Application to his Studies here & at Edinborough, & by his extraordinary Improvement. It is the same that had the Honour of being chosen a Member of our Society a few Weeks since, and is just gone home to America. The other Children are still young, but promising.

M^{rs} Hopkinson's Motive to the Enquiry we have made for her, I take to be chiefly that natural Curiosity which People have to know something of their Relations, there being a Satisfaction in learning their Circumstances & hearing of their Welfare, however remote in Degree or Situation. I have therefore been the more particular in this Account of her Family, supposing it will give the same kind of Satisfaction to her Relatives here.

With great Esteem and many Thanks for the Pains you have so obligingly taken in this Affair,

I am, Sir

Your most obedient
humble Servant

B. FRANKLIN[†]

[†] Letter owned by Mr. George O. G. Coale, of Boston.

VISIT TO ENGLAND

After Franklin had forwarded to Mrs. Hopkinson the information gathered for her by James Burrow,¹ she sent to him the following appreciative reply:

MY DEAR SIR

A Thousand Thanks to you for the agreeable knowledge of my Relations in England and for the Trouble yourself and your Friend Mr Burrow have been at in obtaining it. When we consider how much Business of great Importance of your own you must have to transact, how must my Gratitude and my Childrens be heightened for the uncommon Care Regularity and Exactness you have used in tracing out my Family and for the favourable Character you have been pleased to give us. The marks of Regard you are continually Showing to the Family of a deceased Friend is to me a convincing Proof of the Goodness of your Heart and I must declare that among all my Husbands former Friends I know of but one Gentleman besides yourself who has been good enough to extend any of their Regard to his wife and Children—and it is my Sincere prayer that every kindness you have been pleased to show to me and mine may be doubled in Blessings on yourself and Family. Shall I beg the further Favour of you to transmit the enclosed Packet and Letters as directed. I send you herewith an order on Mess^{rs} Barclay and Sons for the Expence you have been at in this affair. Your Good will and Trouble I cannot repay and must therefore remain

Your ever obliged Friend
and Humble Servant

MARY HOPKINSON²

That the Hopkinsons lost no time in writing to their English cousins appears from the opening paragraph of a letter written by Francis to Benjamin Franklin on December 13 of the same year:

By this Time I hope his Lordship has received our Letters, & as the Bishops always spend their Winters in London it is probable he may have desired a Conversation with you on the Discovery of his Family, & has made more particular Enquiries about his Relations in Phila-

¹ The contents of this letter, dated July 6, 1765, is summarized in the account of Mary Johnson's ancestors given on pp. 17-18.

² This letter, written on October 1, 1765, is in the library of the American Philosophical Society, *Franklin Papers*, I, 160.

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delphia; and very happy do we esteem ourselves in having a Friend in England to answer such Enquiries, on whom we know we may depend, & who will give our Characters every favorable Representation consistent with Truth.

Toward the end of the letter the writer declares his intention to keep the money he has received for his translation of *The Psalms of David* as a "body reserve in case [he] should go to England,"¹ and in conclusion he states that he is sending James Burrow a present of "one Kegg of Sturgeon and one Barrel of Pippins."²

The Bishop was responsive to the friendly advances of his American kinsfolk, as is shown by the following letter to Franklin, dated April 28, 1766: "The Bishop of Worcester presents his Respects to D^r Franklin and begs the favour of Him to let the Inclos'd to M^r Hopkinson go in his Packet when He has an opportunity of sending to Philadelphia."³ And finally on May 9, 1766, Franklin wrote to Hopkinson that he had called upon the Bishop, who had manifested his interest in his young relative by inviting him to come to England on a visit.⁴

¹ See p. 75.

² This long letter is in the *Franklin Papers*, I, 175, owned by the American Philosophical Society. It contains the following bit of personal news, which bears out what Franklin had said to James Burrow about Hopkinson's obliging disposition:

"I visited your Family the Day before Yesterday & put Miss Sally's Harpsichord in the best Order I could but the Instrument as to the Touch & all Machinery, is entirely ruined & I think past Recovery. The Tone I shall always think good as long as it has any; but the Touch is indeed so uncomfortable that Sally has but little Inducement to practise; & the Machinery from the Beginning was so complex, that it was almost impossible for any one to keep it in Order but the Man who made it. And as Miss Sally really plays very well, I think it would be very proper to sell this & buy her a new Harpsich^d of more simple construction—I have got one of Kirckman's double H^{ds} with a Swell & Piano Movement, which gives me the greatest Satisfaction—I wish Miss Sally had such another—But we will *talk* about this next Spring."

³ Letter owned by M^r. George O. G. Coale, of Boston.

⁴ This letter, which is in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq., contains the doleful news that James Burrow's pippins arrived "rotten all to 4." Mr. Hopkinson has also a letter from Franklin to Mrs. Hopkinson, written on the same date, acknowledging the receipt of some "small expences."

VISIT TO ENGLAND

On receiving this welcome news, Hopkinson made immediate preparations to depart. Arrangements for the voyage were easily made, for it happened that Mr. Redmond Conyngham, a friend of the family, "being about to return to his native land, where he had a considerable estate, offered Hopkinson a passage on board his ship, the 'Hayfield,' which was to convey himself and family to Ireland."¹ This kind offer the young traveler gladly accepted; and on May 22, 1766, he went on board ready for the voyage.

On Commencement Day, May 20, the trustees of the college passed the resolution referred to in an earlier chapter.² The full text of this unusual and ungrammatical document is as follows:

It was resolved that Francis Hopkinson, Esq., who was the first scholar in this seminary at its opening, and likewise one of the first who received a degree, was about to embark for England, and has done honor to the place of his education by his abilities and good morals, as well as rendered it many substantial services on all public occasions, the thanks of this institution ought to be delivered to him in the most affectionate and respectful manner.³

Before going on with the account of Hopkinson's visit to England we must anticipate a little, in order to account for some details in the narrative that are derived from a source most interesting and unusual. In the summer of 1778 the British plundered Bordentown, New Jersey, and carried from Hopkinson's residence there, among other things, a journal and some poems written during his trip abroad. These manuscripts were taken to England, where they remained for perhaps fifty years; then they were given

¹ C. R. Hildeburn, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 316.

² See p. 43.

³ John B. Longacre and James Herring, *The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans*, Vol. III.

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to a gentleman in Scotland, who brought them back to America. Learning that the writings in his possession were by a well-known Revolutionary character, the Scotchman turned them over to James Cox, who published at Newark, New Jersey, a little newspaper called the *Rose Bud*. On November 7, 1840,¹ Cox printed in his paper a number of poems and extracts from the journal, with an explanation of the manner in which the manuscript had come into his possession, and a promise that he would publish more of its contents in his next issue. This promise was not fulfilled, however, for on November 14 the editor announced: "We have omitted the remaining pieces from Francis Hopkinson's journal this week in order to accommodate our correspondents, several of whose communications will appear today." About this time James Cox's attention was turned from historical research to personal controversy. He had two afflictions: a large number of subscribers who would not pay their subscriptions, and several neighbors whom he considered personal enemies. These persons annoyed him so much that, as time went on, he felt obliged to use more and more space in telling them what he thought of them. The result was that he never again so much as mentioned Francis Hopkinson in the columns of the *Rose Bud*. In June, 1841, financial difficulties compelled him to give up his paper; not long after this he removed to New York, where he was so completely absorbed by the city that modern scholars have been unable to discover any further trace of him.²

¹ The New Jersey Historical Society owns a file of the *Rose Bud*. Edward Hopkinson, Esq., has a copy of the issue of November 7, 1840.

² Edward Hopkinson, Esq., has endeavored, with the help of the New Jersey Historical Society, to recover the lost manuscript, but so far has been unsuccessful.

VISIT TO ENGLAND

The first entry in the *Rose Bud* journal begins as follows: "Sailed from Philadelphia for Londonderry, on board the Ship *Hayfield*, Capt., William Mackey, on Thursday, the 22nd of May, 1766, in company with Mr. Redmond Conyngham and his family." Then follows a list of prominent men in Dublin and Liverpool to whom he bore letters of introduction, and another of people in London to whom he was to deliver letters from their friends in America. Of these epistles, about sixty in number and addressed to persons varying in rank from merchant up to "my Lord Such a One," a considerable number were from Miss Elizabeth Graeme, to whom Hopkinson a year before had dedicated an elegy on the death of her mother.¹ A third list contains the names of forty-six people in Philadelphia to whom he intended to write.²

Soon after Hopkinson arrived on shipboard, the vessel got under way and proceeded down the Delaware. The next morning the young voyager showed himself a thoughtful son by writing to his mother "from on Board the Ship *Hayfield* lying at Anchor opposite to New Castle" the following letter:

DEAR MAMA,

I take this early Opportunity of writing to you, knowing that a Letter to you from me even at this little Distance will be very acceptable to you.—I find everything hitherto very agreeable & doubt not, with the Blessing of God, but that we shall have a pleasant and prosperous Voyage. I would not have you under the least Uneasiness upon my Account; it is my earnest Request that you would not. Your Anxiety will in no wise benefit me. I hope the Dr^r waited on M^r Sewel, but I shall know to Night as our Cap^t is expected down—with him I expect the Governor's Letter and the Copy of a Minute made by the Trustees

¹ See pp. 97-98.

² Unfortunately the editor of the *Rose Bud* merely summarizes this part of the journal.

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of the College in my Favour. . . . Tomorrow Morning we set sail for the wide Ocean. Expect to hear from me by the Pilot-Boat. My love to all—Adieu—

I am

Your affectionate
& dutiful Son

FRA^s HOPKINSON^r

The promised letter was written on May 25, “near Cape Henlopen.”

DEAR MAMA,

Agreeable to your Desire & my Promise I write to you by the Return of our Pilot. Yesterday we had a pretty fresh Breeze directly against us which made most of our Cabin sick. I have hitherto escaped, but do not expect to come off so easily—We are now running before a steady Gale at North West which is as fair for us as it can blow, & will probably send us out of the Cape in a short Time. The Light House begins to heave in Sight, & e’er long I must take a parting Look of the American Shoar.—Every thing on Board is perfectly agreeable, we have plenty of what is wholesome & elegant—our Cow affords us as fine Milk & Cream as ever was used, & we are in good Spirits—We breakfast at Eight, Dine at One, Sup at Nine & go to Bed when we please—But this very regular Economy we cannot expect as a Constancy.

I am endeavoring to recollect if there is any thing I have neglected, that I may take this last Opportunity of informing you; but I don’t know of any thing—Nothing now remains but to bid Adieu to my Friends & native Land which I hope to revisit with Heightened Pleasure and Success—God grant it may be so—Pray do not suffer yourself to be over anxious on my Account—The God in whom I trust will be my Support and Shield—My Heart & warmest Wishes remain with you all. My next must be from the Kingdom of Ireland ’till then Adieu—God be with you—Remember in your Prayers

Your dutiful and affectionate Son

FRA^s HOPKINSON

I am much obliged to Dr Morgan for the Trouble he took in procuring me the two Letters for M^r West—and to M^r Bremner for the Governor’s Letter—Once more—Farewell.²

¹ Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

² *Ibid.*

VISIT TO ENGLAND

The next news of the traveler is to be found in a long letter to his mother, written from Londonderry on June 26, two days after his arrival. The vessel had sighted land on June 21, but owing to contrary winds had not been able to come to anchor until the twenty-fourth. Of the voyage he says:

Notwithstanding that I had every Advantage which it is possible to have on such a Voyage viz^t good Company, good Accommodations, favourable Winds, an excellent Ship & a short Passage yet I found the Sea very uncomfortable. I was Sea Sick, tho' not very bad, for two thirds of the Voyage: at which Time every thing was disgusting to me, & the Time seemed intolerably tedious: but when I recovered from that a most voracious Appetite ensued; which Disorder is not yet thoroughly gone off.

He mentions having met in Londonderry a Mr. Gamble, who recognized him because of his resemblance to Judge Thomas Hopkinson, who had been "kind and serviceable" to Gamble in Philadelphia twenty years before. Mrs. Hopkinson was no doubt glad to hear that her son had read Stackhouse's *History of the Bible* during the voyage,¹ and that, although the sea had been too rough to permit the passengers to hold public worship on Sundays, he had never failed to read the service for himself. She must also have been pleased with these words in his letter:

Join with me, my dear Mama, in most hearty and sincere Acknowledgements of that supreme God whose unseen Hand hath conducted me with Safety & Expedition thro' the Dangers of the Sea—To his Goodness I owe all that I possess & on him will I depend for all future Blessings.

That he had not forgotten the practical purpose for which he had undertaken his long journey is indicated by a sentence near the end of the letter: "I hope and doubt not but that this Voyage will turn out to my Advantage; but

¹ Edward Hopkinson, Esq., has the volume of Stackhouse that Hopkinson took with him to England.

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I can form no probable Conjectures nor can possibly know any thing about the Matter till I arrive at London.”¹

In another long letter, written on July 2, Hopkinson tells his mother of an interesting coincidence between his departure from America and his arrival in Ireland:

It was remarkable that the Night we left New Castle that the Town was illuminated on the joyful Occasion of the Stamp Act's being repealed—and really made a pretty Appearance from the Water; and the first Night we entered our Harbour in Ireland was Midsummer Night, at which Time it is a never failing Custom among the Irish to illuminate their whole Country with large Fires kindled here & there among the Mountains.

A little farther on he gives this amusing description of a Londonderry church service:

I am much pleased with the Church here; it is a large Gothic Building, very venerable for its Age and solemn Appearance; it has a very good Organ but so wretchedly out of order that it is not fit to be used, having never been tuned since it was first erected which is 16 Years ago—nevertheless it is made to squeal out most shocking Music every Time divine Service is performed. There is a great Ceremony observed in going to Church here. When the Bell is near done, the Mayor, Aldermen &c. meet at the Town House & march from thence in Procession to the Church; first a number of the Blue Coat Boys then the 2 Sheriffs with Wands in their Hands & Chains of Gold round their Necks; then two Officers One bearing the Silver Mace & the other a large Sword; then comes the Mayor dress'd in a Robe of a particular Form & a gold Chain round his Neck, supported by two Aldermen, then the Rest of the Corporation dress'd in Robes some blue, some black and others Red; after them any Gentlemen of the City that choose, or Strangers; Mr Conyngham & myself joined the Procession & sat in the Corporation Pew. As soon as the Procession enters the Organ screams as loud as it can ball [*sic*] & as merrily as you please, till all are seated & then the Service begins. This is done every Sunday Morning & Afternoon thro'out the Year.

¹ This letter and a shorter one written to his mother on the same date are in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

VISIT TO ENGLAND

He then tells of a dinner party that he has attended:

I dined the other Day at a Relation's of Mr Conyngham's where, among other good things, we had a *Turbet* which is a Fish highly esteemed & very rare—it is indeed very delicate Eating—Whilst we sat at Table a blind Man was playing most melodiously on the Irish Harp, which diverted me much—I believe he played for two Hours without ceasing.

Finally, he gives this most interesting account of a visit to the country:

A few Days after our Arrival Mr^s Conyngham went to *Latter Kenny*, a little Village about 15 Miles from Derry, where Mr Conyngham's Mother lives and where his Estate lies—The Day before Yesterday I went up to *Latter Kenny* to see her—All along the Road are built the most miserable Huts you can imagine of Mud & Straw, much worse than Indian Wig Wams, & the wretched Inhabitants go scarce decently covered with Rags—The Poor here are numerous & very indigent indeed—The lower Class of People in Pennsylvania do not know how happy they are—No one *there* needs to want the *Comforts* of Life who hath Health & Industry; whereas many of the Poor *here* cannot obtain the *Necessaries* of it. In the whole 15 Miles I did not see one comfortable plentiful Farm, with Meadows, Barns & Orchards as we have with us,—and what seems stranger is the naked Appearance of the Country. No Trees or Woods to bound your Prospect and no Fences or Enclosures to divide the Fields, but only Ditches with little Shrubs growing along them. But I must not forget to tell you how much I was delighted with the Skye Larks which are very plenty & are the most elegant Birds in the World. They rise from the Meadows, as you ride along, in a Perpendicular Flight, & mount up, not very fast, to an amazing Height,—warbling all the while in the most beautiful Manner with the softest sweetest Variety of Notes I ever heard.*

On July 4, Hopkinson again took ship on the “Hayfield,” with the expectation of arriving at Dublin a day or two later. The vessel had hardly left the river, however, when it was caught in a dead calm which left it rolling on the tide for several days. When the breeze finally did

* Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

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spring up, it was at first so contrary that the vessel did not reach her destination until the seventh day. Meanwhile, the drinking water had spoiled, and Hopkinson, under the combined effects of the bad water and the rolling ship, became so seasick that for several days he was unable to eat anything but some sago which his mother had thoughtfully provided. On this voyage another man—this time a king's officer who came aboard—recognized Hopkinson from his resemblance to his father.

Hopkinson's account of his visit to Dublin lacks the wealth of detail found in his description of Londonderry. In his letter of July 12 he says:

I arrived in this great City Yesterday Morning, & went immediately with D^r Morgan's Letter to D^r *Span* who received me very kindly, & sent out & provided me with very good Lodgings. He likewise introduced me to a Gentleman who conducted us thro' the College & shewed us the great Library, which is reckoned one of the finest in Europe (as I have been informed), the Anatomy House, Park, public Halls, Chapell &c belonging to the College. It would be tedious to give you a *Description* of all these Places, & of all the other Things worthy of Notice which I am like to see before I get Home, by way of Letter; I must therefore defer that Pleasure till my Return.¹

In Dublin, Hopkinson took leave of Captain Mackey, by whom he sent home the following letter:

MY DEAR MAMA,

I wrote to you, D^r Morgan & M^r Duché at large by a Vessel which will sail in a few Days. I am just about to embark for England with a fair Wind & fine Weather, & leave this Letter behind to go by Cap^t Macky² in the Ship which brought us here, which will not sail these four Weeks. Cap^t Macky has been extremely kind to me the whole Voyage. As I paid nothing for my Passage & it is always Customary to make the Cap^t a Present, I offered him a Doubloon, nay press'd it upon

¹ Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

² It should be noted that the name of the captain stated here agrees with that given in the lost journal, except for a slight variation in spelling.

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him but he absolutely refused to accept it or anything from me. I am indeed under Obligations to him, I beg therefore that you or one of my Brothers would shew him some Respect if it lies in your Way & thank him for his Civility & great Kindness to me. He has a Box directed to you, in which I have put *Stackhouse's* Hist. & Tom Jones. You may put Tom Jones in my Book Case. I shall write you as soon as possible from England—You may depend upon it I shall miss no opportunity if I can help it—At present I am in a Hurry My Love to all—Adieu
I am

Your affectionate Son

FRA^a HOPKINSON²

On July 18 Hopkinson wrote to his mother from Park Gate, England, where he had disembarked, because he had found the company on the boat so uncongenial that he could not bear the idea of “being confined with them” any longer. It is probable that his feeling was due partly to seasickness, as he was not usually so temperamental as this letter would imply. Having expressed his determination to go to London by land, he continued:

I must therefore indulge myself in a Post Chaise to London, which I can have for 5 Guineas: This indeed is a great Deal of Money, but as my Voyage from Philad^a to Derry & from Derry to Dublin both cost me nothing I can the better afford this extraordinary Expence. Besides it is not unlikely that I may find a Companion on the Way who will bear one half the Expence. When my dear Mama reflects how very disagreeable mix'd Companies are to me & how little I am calculated to join & associate with perfect Strangers she will not think I have done amiss in this Indulgence. The Way will probably be lonesome; but I shall take with me, for my Amusement that agreeable little Book, *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*² which with the Variety of Prospects that may offer will wear the Road away.³

Reaching London on July 22, Hopkinson was much disturbed to find that his good friend, Benjamin Franklin, had

¹ Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

² Henry Scougal (1650–78), *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*.

³ Letter owned by Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

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gone to Germany, and so would not be able to present him to the Bishop. Being thus under the necessity of braving the episcopal splendors alone, he wrote to the Bishop of his arrival, and was somewhat reassured by receiving a prompt and cordial reply, inviting him to come at once to Hartlebury Castle. This invitation he sent to his mother, with a long, gossipy letter, in which he told of his reception by his friends in London and described the various sights he had seen. He was evidently staying at the home of Benjamin West, who had received him "with the utmost cordiality." Mrs. Stevenson¹ had offered him a bed at her house, "not as a Lodger but a Friend," in case the Wests could not conveniently entertain him. Mrs. Bremner had treated him with great civility, but he had not been able to see Mr. Bremner, who had gone on a trip to Scotland.² He had been invited to dinner by John Penn, the lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania,³ but had been obliged to decline the invitation on account of an attack of neuralgia. He expressed his regret that his change of itinerary had prevented his calling on Mr. Peters' friends in Liverpool; he had, however, forwarded to them his letters of introduction.⁴ As regards the sights of London he wrote rather briefly: "I have seen—I have seen—what have I seen—St Paul's, the Beasts in the Tower—Westminster Abbie &c. St Paul's & the Abbé exceed my Expectations great as they were; but everything else comes

¹ Mrs. Margaret Stevenson kept a boarding-house at 7 Craven St.; here Franklin lived during the entire fifteen years that he spent in London.

² Robert Bremner, a London publisher and musician, was a brother of James Bremner, of Philadelphia, under whom Hopkinson doubtless received his musical education. See Mr. O. G. Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson*, pp. 26 ff.

³ John Penn was lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania for the proprietaries from 1763 to 1771, and from 1773 to 1776.

⁴ This is one of the strongest evidences of the authenticity of the *Rose Bud* journal, in which Hopkinson states that he had letters of introduction from Richard Peters to Will Stratham and Ralph Peters, of Liverpool.

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pretty near what I imagined." He promised faithfully that he would get his mother's quilt and Mrs. Stedman's silks dyed and would send them to Philadelphia at the first good opportunity,¹ and ended his letter with one of those bursts of unaffected boyish emotion that make his correspondence with his family human and self-revealing:

May God grant that I may find you all in Health on my Return next Summer—By that Time I fancy I shall be heartily tired of this Place, elegant as it is, & wish for nothing more than to return to my Friends & my native Land. My Heart indeed is with yours—I am

Your dutiful and
most affectionate Son

FRA^s HOPKINSON²

When Hopkinson next wrote to his mother, on August 10, his ordeal was over; he had arrived at Hartlebury Castle, had been graciously received by the Bishop, and was beginning to feel at home in his new surroundings.

MY DEAR MAMA,

I wrote to you the other Day from London by this same Opportunity; informing you that I intended to set off for his Lordship's Palace of Hartlebury. At the same Time, I wrote to his Lordship letting him know of my Intention to take a Place in the Machine, & expected to be in Worcester some Time to Day: requesting his Lordship to send a Serv^t to Conduct me to his Palace. I did not exactly know at what Time I should get to Worcester; but his Lordship made Enquiry, and I was not Ten Minutes in Worcester before his Post Chaise and two Attendants were ready for me. This Place is about Ten Miles from Worcester, & it was dark Night before I got here. The Bishop received me with great Cordiality & Affection, as also did our Couzin his Sister. His Lordship is a very sedate, sensible Gentleman, is very highly esteemed for his Piety and Learning; & his Sister seems to be an affable agreeable Lady; she has with her a young Lady a Niece of her's & this is all the Family. For his Lordship is a Bachelor, and seems to be about your

¹ This was not Hopkinson's only commission of this sort nor his least troublesome one, as will appear soon.

² Letter dated August 4, 1766, in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

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age—or rather older. They enquired much after you, M^r Duché & D^r Morgan. They treat me with great Affability & Kindness, but I have not yet got over the Palpitations I suffered as I came along in the Post-Chaise—The Palace of Hartlebury is magnificent & superb—I cannot pretend to describe it now—The Halls & Apartments are very spacious & princely, ornamented with masterly Paintings, Engravings, and most beautiful Stucco Work.¹ After Supper a Bell rang & all the Family, Servants & Attendants met in the Chappel, which is a large Apartment in the Palace fitted up as a Church in the Gothic Stile; it was lighted with a great Number of Wax Candles, & his Lordship's Reader performed the Service. The whole had a great Appearance of Devotion and was very striking to me—I was very comfortably lodged in an elegant Chamber—I am just come from breakfasting in the Grand Hall.—Before Breakfast his Lordship showed me some of his Paintings—The Collection is indeed very grand. He asked me much after your health—enquired about the Rest of the Family, told me that he and his Sister had both wrote to you—M^{rs} Johnson intends to get the Family Arms nicely enameled and send them to you. They were much pleased at seeing your Picture—This being Sunday, we are all going presently to the Parish Church so that I am in haste. The Bishop has given in Charge to his Chaplain or Reader to take Care of me & conduct me about his Seat, for my Amusement. On Thursday next his Lordship is to take me to Worcester & [show me]² every thing worth Observation there. [He has]³ promised to show me many Parts of the Country particularly he intends to take me to the University of Oxford.⁴

His Lordship, M^{rs} Johnson & the young Lady, whose name is Miss Baynes desire to be remembered to you with Affection and Respect. Miss Baynes has a Brother Cap^t of a Man of War at New York, who is a Couzin of yours.

Adieu.

I am your affectionate Son,

FRA^s HOPKINSON⁵

¹ The *Rose Bud* journal gives the exact dimensions of some of the buildings and rooms: "Front 240 ft.; Chapel 44 × 19½; Hall 61 feet × 27; dining-room 40 × 26 × 20; drawing-room 26 × 22 × 18."

² Words missing in the manuscript.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ As Hopkinson makes no further reference to Oxford, he probably never went there.

⁵ Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

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On August 12 Hopkinson wrote again to his mother, giving a more detailed account of his arrival and first Sunday at Hartlebury Castle, and telling of a visit to Worcester which he had made on the preceding day. He had evidently approached the castle of his noble relative with a great deal of trepidation, for he says:

I leave you to imagine the Variety of Thoughts that suggested themselves & the different Agitations I underwent on the Road [from Worcester]. It was dark Night before I reached the Palace. The Solemnity of my Introduction did not a little increase my Palpitation. I was conducted by several Servants with lighted Tapers thro' a beautiful Court Yard, a spacious Hall & a long Gallery of Paintings &c to a small Apartment where sat my Couzin M^{rs} Johnson, & her Niece with his Lordship's Reader or Chaplain. The usual Ceremonies being past I sat down in no small Confusion. After a few Minutes his Lordship came out of his Closet & received & welcomed me to his Palace with great Cordiality.

The fears of the visitor, however, had been quickly dispelled by the friendliness of his relatives, who had inquired kindly about his family and had taken pains to make him feel at home. They had given him the freedom of the palace; the Bishop had placed "his Horses or any of them" at his disposal; the Bishop's sister was "making Enquiry to borrow or hire" a harpsichord for his amusement. "Every Day at Dinner," he wrote proudly, "after the King, Queen, & royal Family, his Lordship's next Toast is 'My Couzin M^{rs} Hopkinson & her Family in Philadelphia.'" The Bishop had inquired particularly about Dr. Morgan and Mr. Duché, and had expressed the opinion that the latter would succeed the Rev. Richard Peters as rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's—a prediction that was later fulfilled.

That Hopkinson was deeply impressed by the splendor of his surroundings is very evident in this letter, which in

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places assumes an air of boyish importance quite harmless and very amusing. On the preceding day he had gone with the Bishop "in a Coach and Six" to the cathedral at Worcester, where he had seen a service performed "with great Ceremony and Solemnity."

The Bishop sat on his Throne & I in a Seat adjoining. Whilst the Organist was playing one of his Voluntaries or rather Symphonies his Lordship turn'd about & asked me how I liked the Music: this drew the Eyes of all upon me & put me to no small Confusion.

Later while dining "in a large Company, where were present the Bishop at the Head of the Table, Lord Sands on one Side & M^r Ward the member of Parliament for the County on the other," the visitor was flattered by further evidence of the Bishop's favor:

I sat at a great Distance from my Lord; & after Dinner the Bishop catching my Eye, smiled and bowed to me which I returned—This drew the Attention of Lord Sands & M^r Ward, & by their Whispering with the Bishop & looking toward me I concluded I was the Subject of their Enquiry.¹

On September 22 and 23 Hopkinson wrote to his mother from London, where he had been spending a few days.² On the way to the city he had stopped at Ripple to visit a cousin of his named Dr. Warren, whom he had met at Hartlebury Castle; and at Gloucester, "where," as he says, "I had the Pleasure of hearing the *Messiah* and other solemn Pieces of Music performed by the best Hands."

His chief purpose in going to London was to send home some articles that he had been commissioned to buy for his friends and relatives. Among his purchases were a cloak, a counterpane, and some "Colly flower Seed" for his mother. Of the first of these he says, "I wish the Cloak

¹ Letter owned by Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

² Letters in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

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may please you—I think it very dear—they ask me 4 Guineas & an half—but I intend to try if I cannot get something abated.”

That he greatly enjoyed his visit is indicated by the following extracts from his letter of September 23:

Mr West & Mrs West entertain me with the utmost Hospitality—this House is my Home in London, where I live quite agreeably. You should write to Mrs West or mention her at least in your letters to me.

Dr Franklin is very kind to me—I am very happy in his good Company—He made up a Party the other Day—Mr and Mrs West, Mrs Stevenson, Miss Stevenson, one Miss Blunt & myself—We all went down the Thames in a Boat & spent the Day at *Greenwich* most agreeably—We dined on *Whittings* & *White-bate*, a most delicate little Fish; & returned by Water & Moon-light in the Evening.

With regard to his prospects he wrote as follows:

Every thing goes on as I could wish—and I have some Glimmerings that this Voyage will produce some thing materially to my Advantage—but more of this hereafter. Do not fail writing frequently to Mrs Johnson. This by way of Hint.

In the second letter he asks his mother to say nothing to her friends about his political hopes, and again urges her to write to Mrs. Johnson:

It may be of more Consequence than you imagine—She is a very good Woman—has a great many amiable Qualities; but requires and indeed merits a great deal of Deference. The Bishop is of a most kind hearted, inoffensive, placid Character; with great Dignity, Good Sense & Piety. I am sure you would be in Love with him, if you had a personal Knowledge of him.

As to his future plans he says: “Next Friday I return to Hartlebury—for the Bishop made me promise to return as soon as my Business should be completed. I shall stay with him three or four Weeks & then the whole Family move up to London.” In conclusion he reverts once more to the subject of letter-writing and gives a bit of advice

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which shows that he is learning the ways of his new world: "When you write to the Bishop direct to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Worcester; (without *James*)."

Although Hopkinson admonished his family to say nothing about his political hopes, he himself was evidently unable to maintain the reticence that he advised them to observe. This fact is brought out in a letter written to him on December 13 by Dr. Smith:

DEAR SIR

I rec^d your obliging Letter, & am glad you are so happy in the Kindness shown you by the good Bishop; which, I am sure, the more he discovers the Integrity of your Heart, & the Quickness of your Parts, will be the more increased in your Favor. I doubt not your Sense will lead you to avail yourself of your present Opportunities to get a Provision in some decent and independent Business, suited to your native Bent of Mind & Abilities; & it will make your Friends happy if your Lot is cast back among them.

If you keep a good Look-out, & find Something proper (& never ask without Propriety & where you have little Chance of a Competition with ministerial Interest.) Something may be procured at first asking, especially in America.

After giving this bit of practical advice, the Provost apologized for his delay in forwarding some letters of introduction he had promised to send, and assured his pupil that he had recommended him "to Mr Penn & others."

One of the most interesting parts of the letter is a message to Benjamin West:

The little Picture West did for me was drawn when I had just got out of an eleven Weeks Fever, & you will tell him I have now a little more Complexion, as well as Health, which I beg him to supply also to the Piece, with a Dash or two of his Brush, that I may send for it. I wrote him by his Bride & did every Thing he expected of me in that Affair; but he has never been kind enough to send me a Line.

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The last sentence would indicate that he, too, had assisted in Betty Shewell's escape from her captors, though so far he has managed to escape detection.¹

Near the end of the letter is a paragraph which throws some light on the state of political feeling in England and America at that time:

I am sorry the Dean of Gloster [*sic*] is so much set against poor America, & would suppress, instead of cherish, that Spirit of Liberty, which ought, so far as restrained within just Bounds, to be cherished everywhere; for the Sake of the little true Liberty left in the World. I trust, Providence will make American Liberty still its Care, & our prudent Use of it shew we deserve it.

From what follows, it appears that Dr. Smith had written to the Dean, criticizing the Stamp Act, and that the latter, in a conversation with Hopkinson, had characterized the letter as "impudent." The Provost inclosed with his letter to Hopkinson a copy of the objectionable document, so that "if the Dean should again call it impudent," Hopkinson would have it in his power "to shew that it deserves no such Name."²

In the *Rose Bud* journal are several entries which bear no more explicit date than 1766, but which were doubtless made after the Bishop and his entourage had removed to London for the winter. The first of these tells of a visit to Paddington Churchyard, "about two miles from London," where the family of his great-uncle, Matthew Hopkinson, lay buried. Matthew Hopkinson, it will be remembered, had left a considerable amount of property to Francis Hopkinson's father;³ hence this trip may be considered an

¹ Surely Dr. Franklin, Bishop White, Provost Smith, and Judge Hopkinson make up a singularly respectable band of abductors.

² This letter is in the collection of Mr. Edward Hopkinson.

³ See pp. 8-10.

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act of gratitude to a benefactor. Hopkinson copied the inscriptions on the graves of Matthew and three of his children, and made a drawing of the Hopkinson coat-of-arms carved on the side of the tomb. This drawing, which is reproduced in the *Rose Bud*, shows that the maker had considerable skill as a draftsman—a little evidence, perhaps, in support of the family tradition that Hopkinson studied under West. Another interesting reference to Hopkinson's English relatives is found in the following entry: "My Grandfather, *Baldwin Johnson*, was first Couzin to *Peer Williams*, author of the famous Law Reports. Lady Drake is Daughter of the said Peer Williams, and Lady North, her Daughter."

Probably the most amusing entry of all is this:

The following lines were wrote on the wall of an Inn in Coventry:

"Oh England, England, miserable grown,
Since he who has no brains enjoys thy throne,
And thou are govern'd by a rogue—a Scot—¹
Thy very Foes do cry—hard is thy lot."

To which I replied:

"To Decency at least, the scourge should bring
The wretch who dares insult so good a King;
Or banish'd hence, far from this happy land,
Go! feel the weight of some proud tyrant's hand;
Then would's't thou be convinc'd and glad to own
That *George*, with Glory, fills the *British* Throne!"

Hopkinson, it must be confessed, is hardly a match for his opponent, but the lines are interesting because they show that his loyalty had not yet been shaken by the disputes between England and America.

Most of Hopkinson's letters from England were written to his mother, but one written early in 1767 is addressed to

¹ John Stuart, Earl of Bute, prime minister, 1762-63.

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his sister Ann. He thanks her for some ruffles that she has sent him, and informs her that

Miss Baines, the Bishop's Niece, is doing me the same Honour—she is making a Pair of Ruffles for me in Net-Work which are now almost finished & will be very handsome. You shall see them on my Return, I hope in good Order; for I do not intend to wear either those or yours but very seldom & on particular Occasions.

In a postscript to the letter he says:

I send you two Volumes of *Sermons to Young Women*¹ which are much approved of here, & have a great Run. I have not had Time to read them thro' myself but hope they will be agreeable to you. As far as I have read I think them very pretty.²

After the Bishop and his family removed to London for the winter, Hopkinson evidently lived for a time with the Wests, for on January 24, 1767, he wrote to his mother:

M^r and M^{rs} West are extremely kind to me—they are my Friends indeed—I live with them in a Manner perfectly agreeable to myself—And I shall never think I have sufficiently repaid the Obligations I am under to them.

In another part of the letter he says:

All my Relations continue to treat me with the utmost Kindness so that I am quite satisfied with their Conduct toward me. I dined the other day with M^r Penn, who received me with great Cordiality and strong Expressions of Regard.

In spite of the cordiality of his relatives, Hopkinson was a little less sanguine about his political prospects than he had been when he first arrived:

I am as much in the Dark as ever with respect to any Post being procured for me—It is a Matter altogether uncertain—I would not therefore, by any Means, have it whisper'd out of our Family that I have any Expectations of that sort. The Bishop to be sure has very

¹ By James Fordyce, D.D.; reviewed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of October, 1766.

² This letter, dated January 12, 1767, is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Dreer Collection*.

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considerable Interest; but he is very scrupulous & delicate in making use of that Interest. He is a Man of few Words—whatever, therefore his Designs or Proceedings with respect to me are, he never divulges them.

He explains, however, that his hopes are still strong, since the Bishop seems to hold him in high esteem, and has promised to speak to Governor Penn in his behalf.¹

Hopkinson's next letter indicates that his mother has not failed to carry out his suggestion that she write frequently to the Johnsons. Her letters have been received, he informs her, but the Bishop and Mrs. Johnson "both agree that they will not write whilst I am in England, as there is no Occasion; but when I return to America will duly answer your Letters."² This decision was made, however, only for the sake of economy of labor, for on February 20 the Bishop showed his appreciation of his cousin's attention by giving her a copy of Baskerville's edition of the *Prayer Book*.³

Meanwhile, Hopkinson's hopes seem to have received little encouragement. On February 21 he wrote to his mother:

I could not help laughing at the Account M^r Duché gave me of the very sanguine Expectations you have all formed in my Favour. I assure you my Views are much more humble than any thing there mentioned. Whatever you may think among yourselves, however, I would not have you say any thing to other People, as a total Disappointment (which is by no Means impossible) would expose us all to Ridicule. But your own Prudence will undoubtedly suggest this.

¹ Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

² Letter of February 10, 1767, in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

³ Issued by John Baskerville in 1760. This book, a beautiful specimen of the printer's art, is now in the library of Mr. Edward Hopkinson. The paper is almost as white and the print as bright as they were on the day the book came from the press. Stamped on a fly-leaf are these words, "The Gift of the right Rev: Father in God James Lord Bishop of Worcester to Mary Hopkinson." After this inscription is written "Feb^y 20, 1767."

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Farther on in the same letter he says:

It is an easy Matter to build Castles in the Air; but for my Part I see so many Difficulties attending every valuable Acquisition of this sort; & the Foot of *Promotion's* Ladder is so surrounded by a Throng of Sycophants, necessary Favorites & Noblemen's Footmen that I confess myself much disheartened, & am too proud to mix with the expecting Gang, &, I hope too honest to use their Means for the Attainment of their Wishes.¹

In spite of the despondent tone of these words, the author had by no means given up hope, for in another letter written on the same day he says, "I have just begun an Acquaintance at M^r Penn's. I was received there with great Cordiality."² The friendship of the Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania, one would think, might be a fairly solid basis for "Promotion's Ladder."

Hopkinson's commissions from his friends were not limited to the delivery of the sixty letters intrusted to him when he sailed. His family and neighbors sent him various articles to be dyed, and asked him to purchase for them all sorts of things, from humble "Colly flower Seed" for his mother up to a ring and a harpsichord for Elizabeth Graeme. All these errands he undertook cheerfully and executed promptly.³

Meanwhile, he was meeting notable people and seeing the sights of London. On March 9 he wrote to his mother:

I dined a few Days ago with D^r Newton the Bishop of Bristol & Author of your favourite Dissertations on the Prophecies⁴—I did not fail

¹ Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

² Letter to Elizabeth Graeme, dated February 21, 1767; in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

³ His mother's quilt and Mrs. Stedman's silks have already been mentioned. On February 10, 1767, he wrote to his mother, "Tell Nancy I never received her Gown till Yesterday, but I will get it dyed as soon as possible." On February 21, he wrote again, "I have sent Nancy's Gown and M^{rs} Duché's shade, which are most beautifully dyed; they are in the Case with Miss Graeme's Harpsichord."

⁴ Thomas Newton (1704-82), *Dissertations on the Prophecies*. A copy of this book containing Hopkinson's bookplate is in the library of Mr. Edward Hopkinson.

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to thank his Lordship for his valuable Work & let him know what a zealous Friend he had in you. He was very easy & familiar with me, & I spent the Day & Evening very agreeably. By means of our good Cousin's Interest I was some time ago admitted into the Prince's Chamber in Westminster Hall, where I saw his Majesty dress'd in his Royal Robes & go to the House of Lords in great State in order to give his Assent to some Acts of Parliament. I stood very near the King and quite close to the imperial Crown; which is the most rich & superb Diadem Imagination can form—I was really very much entertained—After the Ceremony I slipped down into the Street & saw him in his State Coach in Procession, & afterwards the Bishop took me into the House of Lords.

This letter reveals the fact that Hopkinson's younger brother, Thomas,¹ was thinking of paying the Bishop a visit, and that the Bishop did not entirely approve of the idea.

I had a good deal of Conversation with him [the Bishop] about Tommy's coming over to England; but he seem'd clearly of Opinion that it would be too great a Risque for him till he was older & more fixed in Principles—You can have no Idea of the many powerful Temptations, that are continually thrown out here to decoy unwary Youth into Ex-

¹ Thomas Hopkinson was born on September 7, 1747. After his graduation from college in 1766, he evidently remained in the institution for further study, for on December 13 of that year the Provost wrote to Francis, "I am to give a Couple of Theological Lectures this Winter, & your Brother *Tom* will be one of the Pupils." Three years later, after receiving his M.A. from the college, he went abroad for ordination. In the collection of Mr. Edward Hopkinson is a letter written by Thomas on April 4, 1770, to George Morgan, requesting a hundred "Skins of Ducks' Heads," some Indian "Habits," and other curios.

"As I intend to embark for England next Fall, a few natural Curiosities of the Country, or such as you think will be deem'd Curiosities abroad, will be very agreeable to a young Traveller; whether consisting of small Petrifications, Ores, Seeds of Plants or Flowers."

In her letter to Franklin, quoted on p. 33, Mrs. Hopkinson says that her son is "entirely unacquainted with the world." Mr. Edward Hopkinson has a letter written on September 23, 1770, by William Franklin to his father, which describes Thomas as a young man whose "knowledge of the world is but small." This appears to be a very just estimate, if one may judge from Hopkinson's letters written from England to the Rev. Richard Peters, several of which are preserved among the *Peters Papers* at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. One of these, written on January 21, 1771, states that he was ordained on December

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travagance & Immorality. Whenever he does come, however, he may depend upon't his Lordship will stand his Friend & Guardian in every Instance in his Power.¹

In his letter of March 9 Hopkinson mentioned the fact that Former Governor James Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, who was in London for medical treatment, had grown "much more kind and affable to [him] than at first."² On April 20 he informed his mother that he and Mr. Hamilton were planning to come home together in June or July. In the meantime he was going to Bath for a short visit,³ and then to Hartlebury Castle, where he would stay until Mr. Hamilton sent for him. Of his prospects he could give no very encouraging report.

I would not have you by any Means accustom yourself to think that I shall return with any profitable Post; much less to encourage such a Report to prevail; I assure you that I myself see no Probability of any such thing coming to pass. Nor is this for want of Good-will in the Bishop: who has done every thing in his Power in my Behalf—but

23, 1770, in St. James Chapel, by the Bishop of Norwich. Not receiving a desirable living from his uncle, Hopkinson returned to America, where he served parishes in Bucks Co., Pa.; in Baltimore; in Kent Co., Md.; and in Virginia. Besides the 1766 commencement *Exercise* mentioned on p. 93, he published in 1769 *Liberty, a Poem*, and a collection of "poetical essays" bearing the title *The Hermit of New-Jersey*. On July 25, 1765, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* published over the signature "T.H." an "Elegy Sacred to the Memory of Dr. Edward Young," which is probably by him. When a certain "Miss L—g" visited Philadelphia in the summer of 1768, her arrival was celebrated in a short poem by "F. H.," published in *ibid.*, June 30; and her departure on July 7 in a similar effort by "T.H." That the authors are the Hopkinson brothers is, of course, a natural conjecture. Thomas Hopkinson's death is recorded in his mother's *Commonplace Book* in these simple, affecting words:

"My Son Thomas Hopkinson dyed May 26, 1788 at Cedar Hill in Charles County [Maryland] the Seat of Doc. B. Kendall. No Relative by to comfort him, by Strangers' hands his dying eyes was closed. Oh my God grant he may be happy in the arms of the Redeeming love."

¹ Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

² "The perfect Cure of his alarming Disorder has made him the most happy Man in the World—Indeed I sincerely rejoice with him."

³ He had written to his mother on February 10 that he was going there with Samuel Powell, a prominent Pennsylvanian, later mayor of Philadelphia.

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there is really no Opening for such a thing especially in Pennsylvania. His Lordship has indeed greatly strengthen'd my Interest with M^r Penn; and laid a good Foundation for me with some of the Nobility, which may be of Service when Occasion offers; but for the Present I have no other Prospect but to return to Philadelphia & industriously set up in the Conveyancing Business. Be my future Lot whatever it will I hope I shall always humbly submit myself to the Dispensation of that good Providence on whom I do most firmly rely.

It seems an Age since I have heard from you but I am in daily Expectation of that Pleasure. When I return you must not expect to find me much altered—You may perhaps fancy I shall come back greatly improved; a fine Gentleman & all that: but I have avoided with all possible Care every Innovation in my Sentiments & Manners; & shall think myself very well off if I return with the little Stock of Virtue & Zeal for true Religion which I brought with me from Home—I am no more of a *Beau* than I was when I left you; & think & feel very much as I did then.¹

After his return to the country Hopkinson wrote Franklin a long, gossipy letter—his last account of life at Hartlebury:

I have once more the Pleasure of writing to you from this delightful Place; where, thank God, I enjoy perfect Health and all the Pleasures the Country can afford. Time rolls away in the most agreeable Manner imaginable: Reading, walking, riding, Music, Drawing &c. season the Hours with much calm and rational Pleasure; & to crown all, the good Bishop and M^{rs} Johnson treat me with all possible Affection & Kindness. Yet, after all (such is my Partiality for dear Philad^a and my Friends there) that I must say it is with great Delight that I look forward to the Time of my Embarkation,—I have not received a Letter from Home since Mid-Winter—But a Ship is hourly expected, and, as the Winds have been favourable for some Days past, I hope it will not be long before she arrives—After I left London, I spent a Week very agreeably at Bath; where I was kindly entertained by M^r Taylor & Family.² We made an Excursion to *Bristol* & the hot-Wells,—Was I to choose a

¹ Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

² John Taylor was an English artist, who had formerly lived in Philadelphia. See pp. 328–29 for an account of a quarrel that later arose between him and Hopkinson.

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Residence in England I think I should not hesitate a Moment in giving the Preference to Bath beyond any other Place—except Hartlebury Castle—From Bath I took a Post-Chaise to Ripple, near Gloucester, where I spent two or three Days with Dr Warren, one of my good Couzins, who conducted me in his Carriage to this Place—I am very fond of riding out on Horse-back—His Lordship has therefore accommodated me with a very fine little Horse & with him I have made several pleasant Excursions about the Country—*Mr Hamilton* did me the Honour to write to me the other Day; he has kindly offer'd to secure me proper Accommodations and Provisions for our intended Voyage, on as reasonable Terms as may be; and informs me that we are likely to have *Mr Powell* a fellow Passenger. The Ship on which we propose to sail is daily expected and Mess^{rs} Barclays assure us that she will not be detained beyond the latter End of July, her Cargo being chiefly engaged.

I hope you retain your Health and Spirits, for I shall always interest myself much in your Welfare, having the greatest Personal Regard for my good Friend, and a lively Gratitude for all Favours.¹

After reading the extracts from Hopkinson's letters that have been quoted in the foregoing pages, one cannot help wondering how vigorously the Bishop really exerted himself in his kinsman's behalf. This question Hopkinson himself answers in his last letter from Hartlebury Castle:

I will now inform you of all that has past in my Behalf since the last Winter. The good Bishop first applied to several of the Nobility and others whom he knew to have Interest with *Mr Penn* to speak to him in my Favour, which was accordingly done—& *Mr Penn* assured me that not only in Consequence of these Applications but for the personal Regard he had for me and my Character he should be glad of an Opportunity to do me Service. *M^{rs} Johnson* likewise waited on *Lady Drake* and *Lady North* (who are both distant Relations of your's) & urged every thing in my Favour, that they might influence *L^d North* for me, which was also done; & his Lordship promised me all his Interest.²

¹ Letter of May 31, 1767; in the American Philosophical Society, *Franklin Papers*, II, 81.

² Several of Hopkinson's biographers have asserted that he dined with Lord North, but I have been unable to find in his letters or journal any evidence that he ever met his lordship. The next chapter will show that Mrs. Johnson's efforts were not wasted.

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I understood early in the Winter that there would be a Board of Commissioners of the King's Customs established in N. York or Philad^a & that the Officers would have handsome Sallaries from England. This I mentioned to the Bishop, who as he had heard nothing of it, did not believe such a thing was in Agitation; & so we left London without hearing any more about it. But since I came into the Country I discovered the Act was really going to be passed, & informed his Lordship of it who promised to do every thing for me in his Power. Just at this Time he was summoned up to London to attend the House of Lords on particular Business; which gave him an Opportunity of doing every thing for me in his Power, & he accordingly very kindly exerted himself; but to no Purpose, for it had long since been agreed, that the first American Posts should be given as a Recompense to those who had suffered & been obliged to resign their Offices as *Stamp Masters* in the late Troubles. I confess that I retained all along some Hopes of having one of these Commissions, but as it hath turned out otherwise I do think, & am determind to think that it is much better for me. I am satisfied that I have tried every thing in this Way & can now turn with more Steadfastness to my first Plan of industriously pursuing the Conveyancing Business on my Return Home. The only mortifying Circumstance will be the Taunts of those who may triumph in my ill Success—but this I shall soon get over—Neither has my Success been so ill; for I have had a most agreeable Year in England, have been very affectionately and magnificently entertained by a very great & good Man, & who has contracted such a Friendship for me that I doubt not will one Day show itself to my Advantage; by whose Means also I have established a very good Interest here not only with those who have much to say in the Disposition of the King's Favours, but also with Mr *Penn* our own Vice Roy. And I know that if I would live in England (which I cannot consent to do) or would accept the Gown & enter holy Orders from lucrative Motives (the Thought of which I have too much Virtue not to detest) I might be well provided for whenever I please. So that upon the whole, I cannot think that myself or my Friends ought to be dissatisfied at the Excursion I have made—I would not by any Means have it known out of the Family that I had any particular Office in View—But your own Discretion will suggest this.¹

¹ Letter, dated July 4, 1767, in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

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This cheerful and philosophical letter was the last, so far as we know, that Hopkinson sent home from England. On July 5, he added a postscript informing his mother that he had just received a message from Governor Hamilton, announcing that their ship would sail not later than August 1. In the meantime, he was going to accompany the family on a short visit to the seat of Sir Edward Winnington at Stamford. The postscript ends with these characteristic and appropriate words: "My constant Prayers are that the Author of all Good may take you all under his divine Protection & in his own due Time restore me in safety to your Love."

Of Hopkinson's last month in England and his journey home no record has survived except a couple of poems written at sea. The title of the second of these, "Verses Wrote Near the Conclusion of a Very Tedious Voyage," is evidently significant, for the ship, which sailed about August 1, did not reach Philadelphia until late in October. The date of its arrival is recorded in the *Diary* of Jacob Hiltzheimer, who on October 23 made the following entry: "James Hamilton, Samuel Powell, and Francis Hopkinson returned from England."¹ On October 29 the following item appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*:

Friday last arrived here the Pennsylvania Packet, Captain Falconer, from London, with whom came Passengers the Honourable JAMES HAMILTON Esq; SAMUEL POWELL and FRANCIS HOPKINSON, Esquires, and Mr. JACOB WINEY, Merchant. Captain Falconer on the 15th Instant, to the Southward of the Bermudas met a violent Gale of Wind, which lasted 48 Hours, in which he lost one of his Boats and received other Damage.

During his travels Hopkinson produced a small amount of verse, most of which was written to compliment his

¹ Jacob Cox Parsons, *Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer of Philadelphia, 1765-1798*, p. 14.

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friends and patrons. In the earliest of these poems, a "Song,"¹ written on board the "Hayfield," he pays his respects to Captain Mackey, to whom he was indebted for a pleasant voyage from Philadelphia to Dublin. The mildly humorous lines have a certain swing and go, particularly in the following stanzas:

On Dolphin's back, old stories tell,
 Arion tun'd his lyre;
The fish came round, he play'd so well
 To listen and admire;
The *Hayfield* shall my dolphin be,
 In which I'll sing along the Lea.

.....
Soon may we on *Hibernia's* shore
 In health and safety stand,
Then will we count our dangers o'er
 And hail the wish'd for land;
Look back upon the sea again
 Where all our former fears remain.

Then will we for our Captain pray
 That he may happy be—
That in the *Hayfield* long he may
 Sail prosp'rous thro' the sea;
Whilst we with voice melodious sing
And joyful heart long live the King.²

Much more interesting than this "Song" is a long poem entitled "Genius," written in honor of the Bishop of Worcester and Benjamin West. After a rather heavy introduction in which he contrasts the man of genius with what college professors call the "man in the street," the author addresses the Bishop:

¹ A chorus beginning "With a fol de &c" indicates that the verses were set to music.

² "It appears from the last line," says the editor of the *Rose Bud*, "that Hopkinson was at this time a Royalist."

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Patron of Genius!—'tis to thee I sing,
For thee my muse extends her Insect Wing
Around the Glory of thy Name to play,
And bask as in the Sunshine of her Day;
Serene in Temper—in Affection kind,
Generous of Soul, of Manners most refin'd;
Learn'd and not vain, tho' wise, yet not severe,
Devout in Life—in Piety sincere,
Whose Dignity doth all Respect & Rev'rence move,
Whose native Sweetness wins the Heart to Love,
To thee I'll sing—nor think the Labour long
If thou accept, and West inspire the Song,—
E'en West, whose Genius Nature made to rise,
And claim Attention from uplifted Eyes;
Which, like an Eagle, meets the Blaze of Day,
While little Birds but hop from Spray to Spray
Whose quick Conception forms the great Design,
Whose skilful Hand runs o'er the flowing Line;
Soft on the Canvas spreads the glowing Thought,
And views the Wonder which his Hand has wrought.

Having paid his respects to his friends, Hopkinson returns again to his main subject, and, in a manner slightly reminiscent of Pope, attempts to explain the relationship that Genius bears to Art, Learning, Wisdom, and Nature:

In vain, with Rules of Art, well plann'd, we try
A Place of Native Genius to supply;
Learning directs, but cannot give the Pow'r—
Wisdom's the Soil, but *Genius* is the Flow'r.
.....
Genius and Nature Hand in Hand proceed—
United Friends—no other Help they need;
This is the Oil, and that the Flame so bright
That thro' the World spreads Scientific Light;
Should bounteous Nature once withhold her Store
The Flame expires and *Genius* is no more.

The two poems just mentioned and Hopkinson's defense of George III quoted earlier in the chapter appear

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only in the *Rose Bud*. Here, too, is a trifle "To Miss Hunter," which is found also in *The Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings*¹ under the title, "To a Very Young Lady," with a note stating that it was written in London in 1767. That this is one of the most innocuous of Hopkinson's youthful efforts the opening stanza attests:

So young, so skilful, and so fair!
Such praise thy merits claim,
The muse with rapture should prepare,
To celebrate thy name.

Five other bits of verse, of which four at least were written at Hartlebury Castle, complete the record of Hopkinson's literary achievement while he was in England.

The most entertaining of these is a humorous poem entitled "The Humble Petition of the Docks, Thistles, and Nettles of Hartlebury Farm, to the Lord Bishop of Worcester,"² written during Hopkinson's first summer at the Castle. The circumstances of its composition are thus explained in a note: "These lines were occasioned by Mrs J—'s, my Lord's sister, rooting out the thistles, &c. from the gardens, walks, and park with uncommon industry and care." That Hopkinson himself did not escape his share of this useful labor is indicated by the following passage:

Not her alone we fear, a hostile hand,
O'er the seas wafted from a distant land,
Pours dire destruction on our harmless race,
And fills with heaps of slaughter ev'ry place.

Another poem written during the first year of Hopkinson's visit is "An Ode Set to Music on Mrs. B—'s Birth Day,"³ which resembles the "odes" in the college "exer-

¹ Vol. III, Part II, pp. 135-36.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 139-42.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 137-38.

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cises" in being made up of a "recitative" and "air." The names "Mrs B—" in the title and "Eliza" in the "air" identify the subject as the Bishop's sister, Elizabeth, wife of John Baines,¹ and mother of the Miss Baines mentioned in a number of Hopkinson's letters. To this young lady Hopkinson addressed two poems, both entitled "To Myrtilla."² In the first, written at Hartlebury Castle in 1766, the author sounds this general warning to any young men who may meet Myrtilla as she "trips along the green":

Ye swains, with caution pass this way;
For should you meet the fair,
You must to beauty fall a prey;
Love would your hearts ensnare.

The second, written at the close of his visit, begins,

Soon, *Myrtilla*, must thy friend
Hasten to a distant shore.

Though the author promises to recall her "dear image" when he is far away "by Schuylkill's rocky shore," he is careful to make her understand that friendship, not love, is the emotion that glows in his heart:

Thus with friendship most sincere,
Shall my faithful bosom glow;
All thy virtues I'll revere,
With such love as angels know.

Hoping still tho' far from thee,
I've a place in thy regard;
Which delightful thought shall be
My firm constancy's reward.

The identity of the young lady is revealed in the sixth letter of Tamoc Caspina, which quotes the second poem

¹ Walter Money, F. S. A., *The Family of James Johnson, Successively Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester*.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 143 and 144-45.

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"To Myrtilla," with the explanation that it is "a plain simple little song, composed by a Gentleman of this city, when he was about to leave England a few years ago, and addressed to a young Lady, a niece of my Lord ——, at whose country seat in Berkshire he was most hospitably entertained."

"Verses," which the author "wrote in a blank book which once belonged to Mr. *Shenstone* the poet, and was given by the *Lord Bishop of Worcester*,"¹ completes the list of verses written at Hartlebury Castle.²

Come little book, the giver's hand
Shall add such worth to mine,
That I will hold thee highly priz'd,
And joy to call thee mine.

Come little book; nor in my care,
An humble lot refuse,
Tho' Worcester own'd thee once, tho' once
Design'd for *Shenstone's* use.

Had *Shenstone* in thy spotless page
In glowing numbers plac'd,
All that is pleasing, great and good,
With ev'ry virtue grac'd;

Fill'd thee with gentleness and love,
With piety and truth;
The wisdom of experienc'd years,
The brilliant powers of youth;

With all the condescending ease
Of manners most refin'd,
Then had'st thou been an emblem fit,
Of *Worcester's* gen'rous mind.

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 133-34.

² Notes explain that "The Humble Petition," "An Ode," the first "To Myrtilla," and "Verses" were written at Hartlebury, the first three in 1766, the last in 1767. The second "To Myrtilla" has no note.

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Come little book; and let me boast
No small, no common fame,
That in thy once so honour'd page,
I write my humble name.

On the voyage home Hopkinson wrote two poems, "An Evening at Sea,"¹ and "Verses Wrote Near the Conclusion of a Very Tedious Voyage."² Neither is especially impressive. The first makes some slight attempt at description, but achieves nothing more inspired than

Our gallant ship, with ev'ry turgid sail,
Glides smoothly on before the pressing gale:
Whilst the full moon, fair regent of the night,
Pours o'er the sea a flood of silver light.

Both express a sincere and commendable desire to see home again. The second, at the end, takes a didactic turn, and draws a not very original analogy between the voyage and life:

Thus the *good man* with tranquil mind
At close of life's career,
Goes cheerful on, in hopes to find
A happy harbour near.

Nor would he tempt those storms again,
Which shook his virtuous breast;
But well rememb'ring former pain,
Contented sinks to rest.

At sea, then, as in the wilderness, Hopkinson is little moved by the grandeur of the scene; or, if he is, his words fail to convey his emotions. His interest is in people, action, life. In the presence of the most sublime object in all nature he imagines that the waves "that roll and swell and break around" are "responsive to the watchman's song" of

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 146-47.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 148-49.

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“lovely Nancy” or “black ey’d Sue.” In short, whatever he is to be in the world, he will never be a great lyric poet.

Although Hopkinson had spent a very pleasant year in England, he must have been considerably disappointed with the practical results of his visit. He had unquestionably gone abroad with strong hopes of securing an important post under the government; he returned without an appointment and apparently without any definite prospect of receiving one. His position in life was the same that it had been in 1765; he still lived with his mother and had not yet “entered into any material business.” While in London he had undoubtedly improved his musical education and had probably studied art under Benjamin West, but he had no intention of making either music or art his profession. His literary work had remained practically at a standstill; for, although he had done a considerable amount of writing during the year, he had produced nothing but trivial verses complimenting ladies and praising benefactors. In one way, however, his experience had been of great benefit to him. It had taught him that he could not depend upon patronage for advancement in life, and had shown him the necessity of beginning at once to make a career for himself by hard work.

CHAPTER V

VARIED ACTIVITIES

In his last letter from England, Hopkinson indicated that he was planning on his return home to resume the conveyancing business.¹ If he carried out this plan, as he probably did, he at once added to his original occupation that of retail merchant. The evidence for this statement is found in a letter that he wrote to Franklin on March 28, 1768:

Need I repeat to you the Gratitude I feel for the many singular Instances of your Regard & Friendship, particular [*sic*] for the last considerable Favour. I mean your Advice & Encouragement to accept & seriously bend my Mind to my Couzin M^r Warren's Offer.² Your Plan has answer'd to a Wonder—On my first setting out, not only the Merchants who spoke from Interest, but even many of my Friends cried out against the Scheme, and rais'd Objections enough to make the Success appear impossible. The Event however hath as yet turn'd out quite otherwise. For in four Months since my Beginning I have taken (by retailing only) & remitted £1500 Currency, which is far beyond my Expectations considering I had the most dead Part of the Year to struggle with.³

The general nature of his business is indicated in the following handbill owned by the Pennsylvania Historical Society:

FRANCIS HOPKINSON at his Store in Front Street Between Market & Arch Streets, opposite the the City Vendue Store Phila-

¹ See p. 148.

² This is evidently Dr. Warren, whom he had met at Hartlebury Castle and visited at Ripple.

³ Letter in the American Philosophical Society, *Franklin Papers*, II, 118.

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delphia Keeps for Sale a Large and Curious Assortment of Superfine, Second and Coarse Cloths with all Suitable Trimmings.¹

Another advertisement, published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of December 2, 1771, announces the arrival from London of "a large assortment of merchandize," consisting of linen, cotton, silk, and woolen fabrics, which the merchant enumerates in a long list containing the following quaint items: "humhums," "bed-bunts," and "ozna-brigs"; "table carpets cunningly dyed"; "a variety of silks, consisting of padusoys, ducapes, mantuas, taffeties and persians." At the close of the list appears this rather unexpected item: "Also, choice Port wine."

Shortly after setting up shop as a retail merchant, Hopkinson embarked on another enterprise even more momentous, namely, his first serious courtship. When he made the acquaintance of the young lady with whom he fell in love is not known, but the absence of any reference to her in his letters from England would indicate that he met her after his return home. If this is correct, the consequences of the meeting were immediate and serious, for in May, 1768, he addressed "To Delia, Wrote on a Leaf in Her Pocket-Book,"² a poem in which his feelings and intentions are expressed in language that cannot be misunderstood:

Go little leaf, and to the fair,
The mistress of my heart;
My truth and constancy declare,
My ardent love impart.

¹ The handbill bears no date, but the copy owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has on the reverse side a receipted bill dated September 27, 1769. The bill is ornamented with a picture representing three sheep under a tree by a pool.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 150-51.

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But how shall thy small page contain
That which no bounds controul?
Or how shall feeble words explain
The transports of the soul?

Go, tell her then that nothing less
Than a whole life of love,
Can all my joy in her express,
Can my fix'd passion prove.

That nought but death can from my mind,
Her dear idea part
And lovely *Delia* ne'er shall find
A rival in my heart.

Go, tell her all our peaceful years
In mutual bliss we'll spend;
And hope to meet beyond the spheres,
When this frail life shall end.

Here certainly are no such vague generalities as are found in the poems to Myrtilla, of whom he had asked nothing but "a place in her regard" as a reward for his constancy.

The lines just quoted reveal fully the author's state of mind; a second poem, a "Song" written in July, 1768,¹ helps to identify the lady who has brought him to this state:

Soft ideas, love inspiring,
Ev'ry placid joy unite;
Ev'ry anxious thought retiring,
Fill my bosom with delight.

Soft ideas, gently flowing,
On your tide so calm and still;
Bear me where sweet zephyrs blowing
Wave the pines on *Borden's-Hill*.

Where the breezes, odours bringing,
Fill the grove with murm'ring sound;
Where shrill notes of birds' sweet singing
Echo to the hills around.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-53.

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He then prays that in these pleasant surroundings he may find "Delia," whom he describes in these charming lines:

She the source of all my pleasure
Shall my breast with transport fill:
Delia is my soul's best treasure,
Delia, pride of *Borden's-Hill*.

A footnote kindly explains that Borden's-Hill is "at Bordentown on Delaware," and so the secret is out. "Delia" is Miss Ann Borden, of Bordentown, New Jersey—granddaughter of the founder and daughter of the most prominent citizen of the village, and member of a family that had been prominent in Colonial affairs for more than a hundred years.

Richard Borden, the founder of the American family, was born in England about 1601. In 1638 he came to Acquidneck, Rhode Island, where he became a freeman in 1640. A son of his named Matthew, born in 1638, is said to have been the first child of English parentage born in the province. By enterprise and business sagacity he accumulated a considerable fortune, part of which he invested, about the year 1665, in large tracts of land in the province of New Jersey, to which several of his sons later migrated. At his death in 1671 he left a family of seven sons and two daughters.

The Bordens who went to New Jersey seem to have followed the example of their father by trying to acquire as much land as they could, for the New Jersey records—particularly those of Monmouth and Burlington counties—are filled with references to patents issued to them. Probably the most prominent of the clan was Benjamin, born in 1649, who was a wealthy landholder, a member of the Assembly, and a prominent figure in the business and political affairs of the province.

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Of the eleven children of Benjamin Borden, two sons, Richard and Benjamin, attained some notoriety during the troubles between the proprietaries and the province by being conspicuous members of a mob, which on March 25, 1701, broke into the court of sessions at Middletown, Monmouth County, and attempted to rescue one Moses Butterworth, a confessed follower of Captain Kidd, the pirate. The officers resisted the mob and arrested the Borden, who were presently rescued by their friends after a sanguinary battle. The mob then "turned the tables by imprisoning the Governor (Colonel Andrew Hamilton), the Court, the Attorney General, and the court officers for four days in token of their contempt for the waning authority of the Proprietary Government."¹ Another son, named Joseph (1687-1765), bought a tract of land at Farnsworth's Landing on the Delaware, and there in 1724 founded the town that bears his name. He erected a bloomery forge on Black's Creek, Burlington County; established a stage route between "Burden's Landing," as it was first called, and Perth Amboy; and conducted a general store in the village. Becoming very prosperous through his various business enterprises, he built in the town that he had established a house which in those days was considered a splendid mansion. He presented the Friends the land on which they built their meeting-house, sold the Baptists a site for a church and burying ground for the nominal sum of five pounds, and in general showed himself a public-spirited citizen. He had six daughters, and a son named Joseph, who inherited his father's business and the family mansion.

Colonel Joseph Borden (1719-91) married Elizabeth,

¹ *New Jersey Archives* (1st series), XXIV, 653, quoting *Monmouth County Records*.

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daughter of Samuel Rogers, by whom he had three children who lived to reach maturity—Mary, Ann, and Joseph. Of his active and useful life the *New Jersey Archives* give a considerable account, part of which is quoted below:

He was actively engaged from early manhood in his father's extensive business enterprises, especially in the stage boat and stage wagon from Philadelphia to Perth Amboy, via Bordentown, until his advancing years caused him to retire from active life, in 1788. . . . He was appointed a Justice of the Peace in 1749, and a Judge in 1757 and again in 1767. In 1761 he was elected to the Assembly as one of the two members from Burlington County, and served until 1769, evidently occupying a conspicuous position among his colleagues. In 1765 the Assembly elected him as one of the three deputies to represent New Jersey in the Stamp Act Congress, at New York, and he and Hendrick Fisher signed the appeal of that Congress to the King and Parliament, urging the repeal of the Act. . . . He was chosen as one of the members of the first Provincial Congress, which met at New Brunswick, July 2, 1774, to send delegates to the Continental Congress. In the ensuing February he was elected by his fellow citizens as one of the Committee of Observation for Burlington County, and later as a member of the Provincial Congress held at Trenton in May, June, and August, 1775. This body appointed him one of the Committee of Safety, which was vested with executive power during the recess of the Provincial Congress. Early in 1776 he was commissioned Colonel of the First Regiment of Burlington County Militia, but he resigned September 28, 1776, when he was appointed Quarter-master. . . . He was appointed Judge of the Common Pleas, September 11, 1776, and again September 28, 1781. . . . He was liberally educated, had a fine presence, and was highly influential in the community. His widow died in 1807 in her 82nd year.²

Ann Borden, the second daughter of Colonel Joseph Borden, is said to have been a very beautiful girl. This one

² The sketch of the Borden family given in this chapter is derived from the record in the Borden family Bible, now owned by Edward Hopkinson, Esq., and from the accounts—collected from various sources—in the *New Jersey Archives* (1st series), XXIV, 651-56.

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can readily believe, for her portrait by C. W. Peale,¹ made several years after her marriage, shows her to have been an unusually handsome woman. Her conquest of Hopkinson was rapid and complete. In his first "Delia" poem, dated May, 1768, he offered her "a whole life of love"; in the second, written in July, he committed himself even more definitely:

On his little wings descending,
Bring the god of soft delight;
Hymen too with torch attending,
Must our hands and hearts unite.

As further evidence of his seriousness he gave her a *Book of Common Prayer*, in which he wrote this inscription: "Francis Hopkinson to Miss Borden, July 1768."²

How "Delia" at first received Hopkinson's suit is not known. It is not improbable, however, that she felt some curiosity to know just what feelings had inspired him to write the two poems "To Myrtilla." The evidence for this surmise is found in a third poem "To Myrtilla,"³ which bears the secondary title, "The Nest." In this bit of verse the author draws a naïve comparison between a nest containing two unfledged birds, and his own heart, in which love and friendship nestle without discomfort to either nest or occupants. In the last stanza he explains the situation so clearly and so frankly as to leave no possible ground for misunderstanding:

Delia my captive love detains
In Hymen's silken clue;
Friendship, *Myrtilla*, yet remains
An off'ring fit for you.

¹ In the *Hopkinson Collection* in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² This book is now owned by Edward Hopkinson, Esq. In the back of the book is pasted Nahum Tate's familiar Christmas hymn beginning, "While shepherds watched their flocks by night."

³ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 154.

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The only remaining souvenir of Hopkinson's courtship is the following undated letter:

PHILAD^a, Saturday Evening

MY DEAR NANCY

Since I left Borden Town last, the most pleasing Reflections have employed my Thoughts. I fancied that I discover'd in you more than the usual Tenderness, which encreased mine for you, altho' I thought it would admit of no Encrease.—I find myself entirely absorbed in the Idea of my approaching Happiness, & look forward to Thursday the first of September with impatient Delight—as the Tempest Tost Sea-Man views the distant Land & Harbour of Rest. I hope M^{rs} Borden will not long delay her coming to Town as there will be many things to do and the Time but short. I shall move my Store next week if possible, and so take Possession of my House.¹ This Morning I wrote the enclosed Song which I shall set to Music & play for you on the Guitar when I visit you next—Pray take care of yourself this hot Weather & don't iron on Tuesdays or any other Days if you can help it—that's true! I had like to have broke my Neck coming Home, my Horse fell down under me and threw me into the Road, but happily I received no Injury save that of being almost buried in the Dust. . . . Adieu my dearest Life! Believe me when I assure you again and again that I am with all my best Affections entirely

Your's,

F. HOPKINSON²

Hopkinson's marriage took place at the time appointed, September 1, 1768. A week later the *Pennsylvania Gazette* published this brief announcement of the wedding:

Thursday last, FRANCIS HOPKINSON, Esq; of this City, was married at Bordentown to Miss NANCY BORDEN, daughter of JOSEPH BORDEN, Esq; of that Place; an amiable and accomplished young Lady.

¹ On August 11, 1768, Hopkinson announced in the *Gazette* that he had removed his shop from Walnut to Front St. between Market and Arch. In the first *Philadelphia Directory*, published by Francis White in 1785, Hopkinson's address is given as "Race Street between Fourth and Fifth." When Hopkinson made his will, in 1790, he was living in a house of his own on Sassafras St.

² Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

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In the meantime, the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* had honored the event with a notice which has become famous as an example of American journalism in the height of its florescence:

BORDENTOWN, *September 3.*

On Thursday last FRANCIS HOPKINSON, Esq; of PHILADELPHIA, was joined in the Velvet Bands of HYMEN, to Miss NANCY BORDEN, of this Place, a Lady amiable both for her internal as well as her external Accomplishments, and in the Words of a celebrated Poet:

*"Without all shining, and within all white;
Pure to the Sense, and pleasing to the Sight."*

For some years after his marriage Hopkinson continued to keep his shop on Front Street,¹ but he did not in the meantime give up his political aspirations. His journey to England had brought no immediate results, but he evidently continued to hope that his friends in England might still do something for him. The nature of his ambition is revealed in the following extract from a letter written by him to Benjamin Franklin on April 23, 1770:

My Lord North, being at the Head of Affairs, and having show'd an Inclination in my Favour upon an Application made in my Behalf by M^{rs} Johnson² makes me flatter myself that something or other may possibly be obtained for my Benefit—to this purpose I have wrote to the Bishop of Worcester—& as he is in the Country during the Summer Season have told him you will be so kind as to let him know by a Line if any proper Opening should offer—When a Person is asking a Favour

¹ Among the *Franklin Papers* at the University of Pennsylvania I found this bill, dated September 4, 1770:

M^{rs} Franklin

Bo ^t of F. Hopkinson		
2 1/4 Yds Cloth	27 /	£ 3 . 0 . 9
7/8 Yd Supf Cloth . .	34 /	1 . 9 . 9
		<hr style="width: 100%;"/>
		£ 4 . 10 . 6

² It should be noted that nothing is said of a personal acquaintance with Lord North, such as has been postulated by several of Hopkinson's biographers.

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they may as well put in for a great Matter as a small One—I have therefore thought that if Beckford should compleat what he has been so long about—& really & truly die—an immediate & close Application by one of my Friends for the Collectorship of this Port might possibly meet with Success¹—if you are not preengaged in this Matter—may I presume so far upon your Friendship as to Request that you would keep a watchful Eye upon that Post—and if it lies in your Way give me your Interest.—I am more than half inclin'd to take a Trip to England so as to return in the Fall—either to push my Fortune in this Way or to settle a more enlarg'd Plan of Trade.²

Either the mysterious Beckford did not complete what he had been so long about or Franklin and the Bishop failed to do their parts, for Hopkinson was still without an appointment in the fall of 1771 when he wrote to John Penn as follows:

I assure you, Governor, I stand in need of some Assistance. My Family becomes more & more expensive—and my Business declines considerably; owing to the Number of People that have set up in the Broad Cloth Way—particularly *Charles Pemberton*—who carries the Quaker Customers by a Partiality which is one of the fundamental Rules of their Policy. I go patiently on, trusting in Providence for better Times—nor should I be anxious about the Matter, were it not for my Wife & Children,³ who are dear to me beyond Expression.⁴

That the long-continued efforts of Hopkinson and his friends were finally rewarded we have eloquent testimony in a letter that Hopkinson wrote to Lord North on April 2, 1772:

¹ From this, the statement made in Scharf and Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, III, 1805, that John Swift was collector of customs at Philadelphia from 1762 to 1772 would seem to be an error. I have found no record of Beckford in either Scharf and Westcott or the *Pennsylvania Archives*.

² American Philosophical Society, *Franklin Papers*, III, 13.

³ According to the record in the family Bible, now owned by Mr. Edward Hopkinson, James was born October 30, 1769; Joseph, on November 12, 1770.

⁴ Letter dated October 17, 1771, in the *Emmet Collection* of the New York Public Library.

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MY LORD,

By the January Packet I had the Honour of receiving your Lordship's Warrant to the Board of Commissioners appointing me Collector of his Majesty's Customs for the Port of New Castle upon Delaware.

It is with the utmost Respect I beg leave to offer my most sincere & grateful Acknowledgments for so considerable a Favour—My feeble Voice will perhaps scarcely be attended to amongst the united Suffrages of those whom your exalted Power & consummate Benevolence are continually rendering happy. I flatter myself, however, you will have the Satisfaction to find that the Post with which you have been graciously pleased to honour me will be executed with Fidelity & Care. I shall not presume to encroach further upon your Lordship's Time, every Hour of which must be highly valuable to your Country & Friends; or detain by any unimportant Address, that Attention which others are waiting for with impatient Anxiety.

With sincere & hearty Offers of my best and most zealous Services I have the honour to be

Your Lordship's
most obedient
most devoted &
most obliged
humble Servant

FRA^s HOPKINSON

I humbly beg your Ldp's forgiveness for troubling you with Requests on this Head but my Situation is such as to render it highly material for me to obtain your Ldp's License to exectue [*sic*] this office by Deputy. Your Condescension in this Particular will great [*sic*] add to the Satisfaction conferr'd & shall not. . . .¹

Tamoc Caspipina records Hopkinson's appointment in this characteristic sentence: "Our ingenious and worthy friend, Mr. -pk-ns-n has lately received a little *douceur* from Lord N—th which will add somewhat to his comfortable situation here."²

¹ Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq. The two errors in the postscript probably explain why this letter was not finished. Undoubtedly a similar one was sent to Lord North.

² *Caspipina's Letters*, letter x.

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Hopkinson received his commission on May 1, 1772, and took the necessary oaths of office on the same day.¹ It is not certain whether his request to be allowed to administer the office by deputy was promptly granted or not; but he dropped out of Philadelphia affairs immediately after his appointment, in a way which suggests that he was absent from the city most of the time. That the office brought him considerable prosperity is suggested by the fact that on October 21, 1772, he purchased from John Penn a tract of one thousand and sixty acres of land known as Putney Common.²

Late in 1773 or early in 1774³ Hopkinson removed from Philadelphia to Bordentown, for reasons which can only be inferred. Since the mercantile business, which had started so prosperously in 1768, had declined somewhat by 1771, we may reasonably assume that this fact had something to do with his departure. It is probable, however, that his chief reason for making the change was that he saw particularly good chances for political advancement in New Jersey, where his friend, William Franklin,⁴ was governor, and his father-in-law, Joseph Borden, was a leader in provincial affairs.

Of Hopkinson's life in the country Mr. J. W. Mills has given an idyllic description, which is remarkable for the large number of errors that the author has been able to embody in a few sentences:

After a poetical courtship in 1768, young Hopkinson married Ann Borden, a daughter of the wealthiest man of the town, and the three resided together in the dwelling now always spoken of as the Hopkinson

¹ *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st series), IV, 451. His commission is among the *Hopkinson Official Documents* in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² Deed among the *Penn-Physick Papers*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

³ The exact date of his removal is not known.

⁴ Mr. Edward Hopkinson has a letter which shows that the two were on intimate terms in 1765. See p. 451.



BORDENTOWN HOME OF FRANCIS HOPKINSON

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Mansion. The musical son-in-law is said to have charmed the other two members of the household with his performances on the spinet, and while he played for them the villagers, old and young, would congregate about the Mansion's windows to hear Hopkinson's "tuning."

In the first years after his marriage Hopkinson devoted much of his time to his poetic muse; and we can imagine him seated at one of the broad back windows of his home on early mornings listening to the sound of the huntsman's horn and the cries of the chase as he pens one of his silvery hunting songs.¹

The facts upon which this sentimental legend is built are that Hopkinson married Ann Borden, and that he removed to New Jersey, but the two events were not coincident, as has already been shown. In Bordentown he lived, not with the Bordens, but in a house across the street from that of his father-in-law.² Moreover, the Borden mansion is not "now always spoken of as the Hopkinson Mansion"; in fact, it is now seldom spoken of at all, since it was burned by the British in 1778. We can readily believe that Hopkinson sometimes entertained his wife's family by playing the spinet, but we cannot help wondering why Mrs. Borden and her son Joseph, who was then a young man living with his parents, should have been excluded from the family circle during the performances. If he devoted much time to his poetic muse during these years, he must have been greatly disappointed with her response, for the *Occasional Writings* contain only three poems written between the years 1768 and 1776. The particular one of his hunting songs to which Mr. Mills refers must of necessity be "O'er the Hills Far Away," since that is the only hunting song found in Hopkinson's collected writings. That this

¹ *Historic Houses of New Jersey*, p. 286.

² This building, erected in 1750, is the house that is now known as the Hopkinson mansion. It was owned by Joseph Borden, and after his death by his widow. She gave it by will to Joseph, son of Francis Hopkinson, in 1807, and it remained in the possession of the Hopkinson family until recently.

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song was composed at Bordentown is, however, very improbable. It first appeared in a collection called *Seven Songs*, published in 1788, twelve years after the author's return to Philadelphia. Moreover, Hopkinson told Jefferson, in a letter written just after the publication of the volume, that he had composed the *Seven Songs* "occasionally," for his daughters.¹ Now, since Hopkinson's daughters were aged four and two and a half, respectively, when the family left New Jersey,² it is unlikely that any of the songs had been written before that time.

The political wisdom of Hopkinson's change of residence was soon apparent: On February 21, 1774, Governor Franklin appointed him justice of the peace of Burlington County,³ and two months later the Lords of Trade sent the following recommendation to the King:

WHITEHALL, Apr. 21, 1774

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY

Charles Read Esquire one of Your Majesty's Council in the Province of New Jersey having departed from the said Province, with an intention to settle in the Island of St Croix in the West Indies, and Francis Hopkinson having been recommended as a person well qualified to serve your Majesty in that station; We beg leave humbly to propose to Your Majesty that the said Francis Hopkinson Esquire may be appointed to Your Majesty's Council in the said Province, in the room of the said Charles Read Esquire.⁴

As a result of this recommendation Hopkinson was, on May 9, 1774, given a place on the council,⁵ of which he con-

¹ See p. 444.

² Two of Hopkinson's daughters and his third son were born before the family returned to Philadelphia in 1776: Elizabeth, July 26, 1772; Mary, November 28, 1773; and Thomas, December 31, 1775.

³ *New Jersey Archives* (1st series), XVIII, 380.

⁴ *Ibid.*, X, 455.

⁵ His commission is among the *Hopkinson Official Documents* in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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tinued to be an active member until his departure from the province. The provincial records show that he attended meetings regularly and took part in routine work of various sorts, and that twice, in recognition of his abilities as a writer, he was placed on committees to draw up replies to addresses made by the Governor.¹

We have no evidence that Hopkinson before his removal to New Jersey ever engaged actively in the practice of law. Although he was admitted to the Pennsylvania bar in 1761, he had not yet "entered into any material business" when Franklin wrote to James Burrow in May, 1765. In the fall of 1765 he took up the conveyancing business, but evidently with little success. After his return from England his shop seems to have occupied most of his time. In 1775, however, he returned to his original profession. On April 6 of that year he was appointed by Governor Franklin "an Attorney and Counselor at Law," authorized to appear "in all His Majesty's Courts of Law and Equity in the . . . Province of New Jersey";² and on May 8 he was formally admitted to the bar.³

It has been suggested that Hopkinson's migration to New Jersey may have been prompted by political ambition. This theory finds support in a curious document by a contemporary of his, who did not view the maneuver with complete approval. On March 23, 1774, one Nathaniel Lewis, of Philadelphia, published in the advertisement section⁴ of the *Pennsylvania Journal* a communication asserting that of three letters intrusted by him to Joseph Borden

¹ See the *New Jersey Archives* (1st series), XVIII, 484, 569.

² The license is among the *Hopkinson Official Documents* in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

³ *New Jersey Archives* (1st series), X, 428.

⁴ In those days the buying of advertising space in which to carry on personal quarrels was not an uncommon practice.

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for delivery in New York and New Brunswick one had never reached its destination and two had been opened en route. On April 4 Borden published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* an indignant denial of Lewis' insinuations, thereby drawing a furious reply from his adversary. After this spirited beginning, the contestants settled down to a long-winded quarrel, which for several weeks filled the columns of the *Packet* with accusations and recriminations. Whether or not Hopkinson took any part in this newspaper quarrel is unknown; that he was believed to have done so is indicated by the following extract from Lewis' second letter:¹

But before I take leave of him [Joseph Borden] I would observe, as he has been so candid as to make a public declaration of his innocence, he will be FRANK enough, if it should hereafter be enquired of him, to acknowledge that the advertisement published *under his name*, being properly spelled and smartly written, was fabricated by that *pretty, little, musical, poetical witling*, who lately emigrated from this city into New Jersey in quest of the long robe and full-bottomed wig, which, nevertheless, have since been conferred on a gentleman of *manly figure* and *approved abilities*.²

On April 18 a writer signing himself "Jerry Switch" published a long article ridiculing Lewis and defending Hopkinson. The communication consists for the most part of rather heavy humor, but it contains one or two significant sentences: "That he did emigrate . . . is certain; but what he went in quest of, nobody can tell but himself. This I know, that he left us in love and charity with all his neighbors."³

¹ Published on April 11, 1774.

² Richard Stockton was appointed associate justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey on February 28, 1774. Two years later Hopkinson declined the office he is here accused of soliciting. See the *New Jersey Archives* (1st series), X, 427-30.

³ The article is written in the form of a dialogue between Jerry Switch and his wife. I should like to believe that it was written by one of Hopkinson's loyal friends, but I cannot escape the suspicion that he wrote it himself.

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Since few of the letters written by Hopkinson between 1773 and 1776 have been preserved, little is known of his private life in New Jersey. It is known, however, that just before his return to Philadelphia he suffered severe bereavements in the deaths of two of his sons—James, the eldest, who died on August 12, 1775, in his seventh year, and Thomas, third son and fifth child, who died on January 1, 1776, aged one day.¹ The death of the former is recorded in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* as follows:

On Saturday the 12th instant, died at Bordentown, in New-Jersey the eldest son of the Hon. FRANCIS HOPKINSON, Esquire. The beauty of his person, the sweetness of his disposition, and his promising abilities, endeared this amiable child to all that knew him.²

After his return from England, Hopkinson renewed his activity in the various organizations in which he was interested. He continued to act as secretary of the Library Company until 1769, and he served on the Board of Directors in 1771 and 1772.³ He was a vestryman of Christ Church and St. Peter's from 1769 to 1773,⁴ and a warden of Christ Church in 1770 and 1771.⁵ Just after his return from Eng-

¹ Record in the family Bible, owned by Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

² Issue of August 23, 1775.

³ G. M. Abbot, *A Short History of the Library Company of Philadelphia*, pp. 27 and 29. A notice of a meeting, signed by Francis Hopkinson, secretary, was published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on January 14, 1768. The historical societies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey have certificates of membership signed by him in 1769. In the *Franklin Papers*, III, 94, owned by the American Philosophical Society, is a letter to Franklin, written by the directors—Matthew Clarkson, Francis Hopkinson, and R. S. Jones—on April 27, 1772. This letter acknowledges the receipt of books sent to the library from London, and requests the purchase of others.

⁴ T. H. Montgomery, *A History of the University of Pennsylvania*, p. 297.

⁵ Benjamin Dorr, *An Historical Account of Christ Church, Philadelphia*, p. 298. In the *Society Collection* of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania I found this receipt written by Hopkinson on June 2, 1772:

"Rec^d from Mr John Gill Ten Pounds in full for the customary Fee due for the Privilege of erecting a Tomb in Christ Church Burial Ground, he having order'd one to be erected over the Grave of Mr Cooper."

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land he joined the American Philosophical Society and the American Society for Promoting and Propagating Useful Knowledge, Held in Philadelphia—the two organizations that on January 2, 1769, united under the name of the former.¹ On October 19, 1770, he was added to a committee that had previously been appointed to design a seal for the society.²

No music written by Hopkinson between 1767 and 1776 has survived, and only two or three fragments of information about his musical activities during this period have been discovered. The first of these is the following extract from a newspaper account of the college commencement of 1767:

An elegant *Dialogue* written in Verse by THOMAS COOMBE, B.A. (which will be inserted in our next) was also spoken on this Occasion; and an Ode, set to *Music*, was sung by Mr. JOHN BANKSON, with great Sweetness and Propriety, accompanied by the Organ, &c. under the Conduct of a worthy Son of the College, who has often shewn his Regard to the Place of his Education, by honouring it, on public Occasions, with his ready Service.³

Though this worthy son of the college is not named, it is more than probable that he was Francis Hopkinson.⁴

On December 10, 1770, the vestry of Christ Church passed this resolution:

Mr. church-warden Hopkinson having been so obliging as to perform on the organ at Christ Church, during the absence of Mr. Bremner, the late organist, the vestry unanimously requested of him a con-

¹ He joined the first on January 26, 1768, and the second on April 8, 1768. See the *Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, pp. 4, 8, and 23, and the "List of Members" at the end of the ninth volume of the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*.

² *Early Proceedings*, p. 58.

³ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 19, 1767.

⁴ This is Mr. O. G. Sonneck's opinion. See his *Francis Hopkinson*, pp. 30–31.

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tinuance of this kind office, until an organist should be appointed, or so long as it should be convenient and agreeable to himself. Mr. Hopkinson cheerfully granted this request.¹

Since Bremner probably did not return to Philadelphia until 1774, Hopkinson may have continued to serve as organist until his own departure from the city.²

On September 28, 1772, the following announcement appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet*:

We hear that the Corporation for the relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen in the communion of the Church of England, in America, will meet at Philadelphia, by appointment, on Tuesday the 6th of October next; and that a sermon suitable to the occasion will be preached at Christ-Church on Wednesday the 7th, when several pieces of solemn Church-Music, and particularly a grand Chorus from the celebrated *Messiah* of *Handel* will be performed. After the services a collection will be made for the benefit of that charitable institution.

Although we have no absolute proof that Hopkinson took part in this performance, we have good reason to believe that he did so. He had previously shown his interest in church music by instructing the children of the church in psalmody, and at that very time was probably acting as church organist. While at Gloucester in 1766 he had heard a performance of *The Messiah*, which had pleased him greatly.³ It is therefore almost inconceivable that this performance should have been given without his assistance.

Slightly suggestive, also, is this sentence from the newspaper account of the 1773 college commencement: "Several Gentlemen of the Town were pleased to entertain the

¹ Benjamin Dorr, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

² For a more complete account of the organists of Christ Church see O. G. Sonneck, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

³ In a letter written to his mother on September 23, 1766, he mentioned the fact that he had heard *The Messiah* "performed by the best Hands." Seventeen years later, on January 4, 1784, he wrote to Jefferson of the pleasure he had experienced on that occasion. See pp. 136 and 333.

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Audience with some excellent Pieces of Psalmody and *Church Music*, accompanied by the organ."¹

It has already been suggested that Hopkinson may have studied art under Benjamin West. Whether he did so or not, he became interested after his return from England in making pastel portraits. The first intimation we have of his entrance into this new field of art is to be found in a letter written from Philadelphia on August 20, 1776, by John Adams to his wife. In this letter Adams tells of meeting Hopkinson in the studio of the artist, C. W. Peale, gives an amusing description of his appearance, and then continues: "Mr. Hopkinson has taken in crayons with his own hand a picture of Miss Keys, a famous New Jersey beauty. He talks of bringing it to town, and in that case I shall see it, I hope."²

Hopkinson's collected writings contain only three poems written between 1768 and 1776. The first of these, a trifle entitled "The Wasp," will be mentioned in the latter part of this chapter among his contributions to the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. The second, "To T—M—, Esq.,"³ a humorous account of a trip on horseback from New Castle to Philadelphia, was apparently dashed off in an idle moment and sent to his brother-in-law, Thomas McKean, who had been his companion on the road as far as Chester. The poem first gives a lively account of their meeting on the road two opponents in a lawsuit, each of whom insisted on telling his side of the case to the author's "brother-in-law the attorney," who in both instances as-

¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 28, 1773. The commencement took place on June 30.

² *Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife, Abigail Adams, during the Revolution*, p. 217.

³ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 157-60.

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sented or seemed to assent to all that was said. Here one is reminded of the reply of Sir Roger de Coverly on a similar occasion. This incident is followed by a droll description of the Chester Court, of which the author observes:

Attorneys and clients here lovingly meet,
The one to be cheated, the other to cheat.

That McKean is the person to whom the poem is addressed is most probable from the initials of the title, and from the fact that McKean's home was in New Castle; that he is the attorney referred to is certain, because McKean was the only lawyer among Hopkinson's brothers-in-law.

Since Thomas McKean plays an important part in later chapters of this work, a brief account of his remarkable career may appropriately be given here. He was born in Chester County on March 30, 1734. After completing his preliminary education under a private tutor, he studied law in the office of his cousin, David Finney, and was admitted to the Supreme Court of Delaware at the age of twenty-one.

From the beginning of his career he was a politician, to whom offices appeared to come unsought. While still a law student he served as clerk to the prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, and in 1757-58 he was clerk of the House of Assembly. In 1762 he was elected to represent New Castle County in the Delaware Assembly, where he served until 1779, when he resigned; in 1772 he was speaker of the Assembly. He represented the Delaware counties in the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1776 and from 1778 to 1783. He favored the Declaration of Independence, of which he was one of the signers. Immediately after the passage of the Declaration he obtained leave of absence from Congress and joined the army, where he commanded

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a company of Pennsylvania militia in Washington's New Jersey campaign. Returning to Congress after a short time, he was next summoned to New Castle, where he took part in a constitutional convention and wrote the constitution of the state of Delaware; the next year he served for a short time as president of that state. From 1777 to 1799 he was chief justice of Pennsylvania. In 1781 he held for a time the highest office in America, that of president of Congress, but he resigned after a few months in order to have more time for his duties as chief justice.

In 1781-82, at the request of the legislature, he compiled the laws of Pennsylvania. In Pennsylvania politics he was a member of the Constitutional party, which favored a one-branch legislature. He was not a member of the convention which framed the Federal Constitution, but as a member of the Pennsylvania Convention was one of those who helped secure its ratification; in 1792 he and James Wilson published a *Commentary on the Constitution of the United States*. He was elected governor of Pennsylvania in 1799, and was re-elected in 1802 and 1805. His latter years were filled with political strife, which culminated in 1807 in an unsuccessful attempt to remove him from the office of governor. In 1808 he retired to private life, from which he again emerged in 1814, during the British invasion, as a member of the Committee of Defense. He died on June 24, 1817.

On July 21, 1763, Thomas McKean married Mary Borden, older sister of Ann Borden, and, like her, a famous beauty. Ten years later she died at the age of twenty-nine, leaving a family of six children. Less than a year and a half after her death McKean married again, and from that time on there is no evidence of any intimacy between him and Hopkinson. During the Revolution the two were lead-

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ers of opposing political parties, and finally they became openly hostile to each other.

The cheerful verses to Thomas McKean are followed in *The Miscellaneous Essays* by a poem, "To the Memory of Mrs. Mary M'Kean,"¹ who died on March 12, 1773. This, the last of Hopkinson's obituary poems, is much like all the others of its class. Though it contains nothing so artificial as the line,

I sigh in verse, am elegant in woe,

it has no verses that are memorable for their beauty. The truth of this statement will be obvious to anyone who reads the most effective lines in the poem, the epitaph at the end:

Fair was her form, serene her mind,
Her heart and hopes were fix'd on high:
Her hand beneficent and kind
Oft wip'd the tear from sorrow's eye.
The sweets of friendship soften'd care;
Love, peace, and joy, her soul possess:
Meekness perfum'd each rising pray'r,
And ev'ry rising pray'r was blest.
In heav'n we trust, her sainted spirit sings
Glad *Hallelujahs* to the *King of Kings*.

On January 16, 1763, Hopkinson gave his mother a large Bible,² in which in October, 1770, he wrote a long poem, not included in his collected works, but superior to many of the verses found there. This poem is interesting because it is evidently a sincere attempt to define the author's faith and to express his religious emotions. It shows that he holds the orthodox theological views of his day. He is impressed by the feebleness of his spiritual life, the

¹ Vol. III, Part II, pp. 161-63.

² This Bible is now owned by Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

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vanity of temporal joys, the universal presence of sorrow and pain, the powerlessness of man's help, the transitory nature of all things earthly. Life is so difficult that he is in great need of help, which he seeks in the only place where it is really to be found:

Whom shall I seek, my Lord & King,
To whom, but thee, for Succour fly?
'Tis thou alone can'st Comfort bring,
And ev'ry pressing Want supply.

To this source of help he directs his son, to whom the latter stanzas are addressed. He warns him that life is short, and urges him not to labor for "worldly gain," but to strive for something more enduring:

Seek'st thou for Joys that ne'er shall fade;
Would'st thou have Bliss without Controul;
Or Wealth no Dangers can invade;
Or doth Ambition fire thy Soul?

Read *here* & know all may be thine,
This Book will teach thee how to gain
Glories that shall forever shine,
Wealth without Care, Joy without Pain.

Oh may my God with Hand unseen
Direct thy heedless Steps aright;
Thy Soul from ev'ry Danger screen
And fill thee with Celestial Light.

To *him* & his Paternal Love
Thee I commit—with Hope possess't,
That in the Realms of Peace above
We both may meet, and both be blest.

Hopkinson's writings, exclusive of his letters, exist in manuscript in a half-dozen collections.¹ The Massachusetts

¹ See the Bibliography at the end of this book.

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Historical Society has a manuscript containing a description of a harpsichord quill that he invented. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has manuscript copies of his "Declamation" delivered on July 13, 1753, and "An Elegy Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Anne Graeme." His early musical compositions are in a volume owned by the Library of Congress, which has also a copy of "A Newly Discovered Method of Writing." *Judgments in the Admiralty of Pennsylvania* and several manuscript poems and essays are in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq. Five volumes, numbered I, II, III, IV, and VI, are owned by the American Philosophical Society. These volumes, beautifully written and handsomely bound in leather, were prepared for publication by the author not long before his death. The lost volume doubtless contained the poems published in *The Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings*; the five volumes that remain contain the prose works in the form in which they appear in that collection. Besides these volumes, the society has manuscript copies of "The Battle of the Kegs" and "Date Obolum Bellesario." The most interesting manuscript collection of all is that which was formerly owned by Mrs. Florence Scovel Shinn, of New York, but is now in the Henry E. Huntington Library, at San Marino, California. It consists of two volumes of prose and verse. The first of these contains all the poems in the third volume of the collected writings to "The Toast," on page 176, and an unpublished poem, "The Cock-Fighter, an Elegy." The second contains the rest of the published poems and several unpublished ones, about three-fourths of the prose published in Volume I of *The Miscellaneous Essays*, and two essays that do not appear in the collected works. These volumes are interesting, not only because of the unpublished material in them, but also

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because they contain rough drafts of Hopkinson's works, full of deletions and corrections.

"The Cock-Fighter," found in the Huntington manuscript collection, is one of the most curious and interesting of Hopkinson's writings. Though written, like the poem in the Bible, in 1770, it is as frivolous as the latter is serious. It begins by describing in mock-heroic style the sufferings of the bereaved family of "Dicky," a cock slain in battle:

Ah me! what means this Cackling all around?
Hen cries to *Hen* & *Chickens* shrilly sound:
A Father *these, those* mourn a Husband dead
By cruel Hands to bloody Battle led.

Then follows a metrical paragraph which suggests that the poem is in reality a satire directed against a particular individual:

See from N— Y— D— comes in State
And twenty *fighting Cocks* around him wait
All arm'd with Steel, and waiting for the War—
Chicks fly amaz'd & *Hens* the sight abhor.

The account of the fight and the lamentations over its results are of slight importance, but there are other interesting references to the mysterious D—. In the fourth section Dicky's bereaved spouse says:

Attend my little Brood, & whilst I sing
Oh gather close beneath my shelt'ring Wing!
A Father *you*, a Husband *I* deplore—
D— came, & *Dicky* is no more.

Finally, in the concluding lines the injured matron addresses her oppressor:

Hence! hence away—& leave this bloody Plan:
Pursue some nobler Purpose, worthy Man!
Think'st thou that Heav'n was to thy Fortunes
kind,
Gave Wealth, & Pow'r, gave an immortal Mind,

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With boasted Reason, & a ruling Hand
To make thee *first Cock-fighter* in the Land?
With crimson Dye our Blood shall spot thy Fame
And Chickens yet unhatch'd shall curse D—'s
Name.

Who, then, was the mysterious D—? Two hints which help to determine his identity are found in the poem itself. The metrical structure of the lines indicates that D—'s name must be a word of three syllables, accented on the second; a note at the end of the verses states that he was a member of the Assembly. The problem, then, is to find a man bearing such a name who was a member of the New York Provincial Assembly about the year 1770. An examination of the minutes of that body reveals only one name that fulfils the requirements—that of De Lancey. This, however, does not settle the problem, for there were in the assembly about this time three members of the De Lancey family; moreover, they are all said to have been great sportsmen, particularly fond of horse-racing and cock-fighting.¹ Peter de Lancey retired from the New York Assembly in 1767, but since he was an old man at that time, and since he died in 1770, he probably was not the man to whom the poem refers. Peter de Lancey was succeeded in the assembly by his son John, but as the latter had had only a brief political career at this time, Hopkinson's description of the cock-fighter seems hardly to fit him. The description does, however, fit a third member of the family, Colonel James de Lancey, son of the Lieutenant-Governor, and one of the wealthiest as well as one of the ablest men in the province. He entered the Assembly in 1767, and continued to be active in New York politics until the outbreak of the Revolution, when he fled to Eng-

¹ James G. Wilson, *A Memorial History of the City of New York*, II, 458-59.

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land. For his Loyalist activities during the war he was attainted and deprived of his property by the American government.¹ This, then, is probably the lordly person who incurred Hopkinson's disapproval by bringing to Philadelphia twenty fighting-cocks armed with steel.

In January, 1775, Hopkinson's literary ambitions, which for some time had lain dormant, were revived by the appearance in Philadelphia of a new literary publication, the *Pennsylvania Magazine; or American Monthly Museum*,² published by Robert Aitken. Having had no satisfactory medium for publication since the days of the *American Magazine* in 1757-58, Hopkinson welcomed the new periodical with much enthusiasm, which he expressed in the following letter to the publisher:

I was much pleased when I heard of your intention to publish a Magazine or Monthly Miscellany. For you must know, Mr. Aitken, that I have long had an earnest desire to appear as an author before the respectable public. When I walk out alone, which I frequently do, observations and sentiments arise in my mind, which appear to me as wise and important as many of those which the press is continually obtruding upon the public notice.

True it is, I have never yet been able to collect a sufficient number of these bright ideas to form a regular piece of composition: but I had great hopes, that if a proper occasion should offer, I might be able to furnish a short essay upon some subject or other.

You may wonder, perhaps, why I have not tried my hand in some of the public newspapers; but the truth is, that what with your *Citizens*, your *Philadelphians*, your *Lovers of Liberty*, your *Moderate Men*, and your *Immoderate Men*, there is no getting a word or two in, edge-ways, amongst them. Now, I look upon your proposed magazine as a pleasant

¹ Thomas Jones, *A History of New York during the Revolution*, I, 18, 37, 154-58, etc.

² The *Pennsylvania Magazine* ran from January, 1775, to July, 1776. The John Carter Brown Library, at Providence, has a bound volume of the issues of 1776, containing Hopkinson's autograph.

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little path, where a man may take an agreeable walk with a few orderly and agreeable friends, without the danger of being jostled to death in a crowd.

His contribution to the first number was the letter from which the foregoing extract is taken and an allegorical prose essay entitled "An Extraordinary Dream."¹ which contains one or two details that suggest that the author was familiar with Addison's "The Vision of Mirza."² In the allegory the author is conducted through the Garden of Human Knowledge by Truth, who shows him first the tree of Religion, the fruit of which is "the most delicious and salutary that can be found in the whole garden." Various "botanists," however, have reduced the tree to a sorry plight: Some have lopped off limbs, others have grafted on scions and encouraged the growth of suckers, and still others have stripped off leaves and fruit until nothing remains but "a mutilated, useless, and deformed trunk." Other "departments" of the garden are the Labyrinth of Law surrounding the statue of Justice, the grove of the Fine Arts, the swamp of Logic, and the territory assigned to Metaphysics. The last lies under the garden wall, through which the laborers have vainly tried to cut peepholes "through which they may discover the surrounding country." The "Extraordinary Dream" is important because it is an experiment in a new literary form—the prose essay. The dream device is not original, and the material presented is not very striking, but the piece has a mild ironical humor which makes it vastly superior to the author's earlier compositions in verse.

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 1-11.

² In "A Revery," published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* in April, 1776, Hopkinson wrote: "I am a great admirer of the *Spectators*, *Tatlers*, and *Guardians*. I never read them but with pleasure and improvement." The opening paragraph, in which this sentence is found, is not republished in *The Miscellaneous Essays*.

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In March, Hopkinson published in the *Magazine* a capital bit of humor entitled "A New Plan of Education,"¹ which proposes to lighten the labors of both instructors and pupils by teaching all subjects through games. One can hardly believe that the author is not satirizing some of our modern educational theories when he says:

The *vis inertiae* of matter, *elasticity*, and the general laws of *motion* may be evidenced in playing *marbles*, *fives*, and *bandy-wicket*. The doctrine of projectiles, the accelerated velocity of falling bodies, and the *parabolic curve*, the *centrifugal force*, and the laws of *gravitation*, may be understood by shooting arrows, slinging stones, and throwing snow-balls. *Pneumatics* will be taught in the use of the *pop-gun*, flying of kites, blowing bladders, and lifting stones with a piece of wet leather and string: and *hydrostatics* may be illustrated by the *squirt* and other aquatic amusements.

In the March issue of the *Magazine* a contributor calling himself "Old Bachelor" published an essay on the miseries of the single life. To this Hopkinson replied in June with a "Consolation for the Old Bachelor,"² which clearly shows that a married man sometimes has trials at which any bachelor, old or young, might well stand aghast. The writer represents himself to be an industrious shoemaker of Philadelphia, who has recently suffered much discomfort because he allowed his wife to persuade him "to take her to New York, in order to visit *Mrs. Snip*, the lady of an eminent taylor in that city, and her cousin." The trip, of which he gives a long account, involved infinite trouble and much expense, and ended in a family quarrel, after which the shoemaker and his wife returned home to find their own household completely demoralized:

No sooner had we entered the house, but we were informed that one of my apprentices had ran away with the hired-maid, no body knew

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 12-19.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 20-28.

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where; the old negro had got drunk, fallen into the fire, and burned out one of her eyes; and our best china-bowl was broken.

My good wife contrived, with her usual ingenuity, to throw the blame of all these misfortunes upon me. . . .

This picture, explains "A.B.,"¹ the supposed author of the "Consolation," is held up to the view of the "Old Bachelor" "in hopes it may abate his choler, and reconcile him to a single life."

In a section of the periodical devoted to "poetical essays" Hopkinson published in June the poem "The Nest,"² which he had written about the time of his marriage. Apparently everything he submitted was acceptable, for later he worked off others of his early productions.

In July, Hopkinson published in the *Magazine* an article "On the Late Continental Fast," which will be mentioned later in connection with his political writings; and in August, a literary essay, entitled "Affectation Instanced in a Variety of Characters," and a poem, "The Wasp." "Affectation," as its title indicates, is an experiment in character-writing. In it appear Clodio, a youth of ordinary attainments, who poses as a philosopher; Titius, who affects the character of a rake, though neither his temperament nor his training fits him for the rôle; Mercator, a dull man who tries to be a wit; Sylvia, who mars her natural beauty by affected grimaces and ridiculous poses; Eudocia, who "cannot give the plainest orders to her Servants in plain English, or express herself on the most common Occasion in a common Way"; and Clementina, who affects the airs of a heroine of romance. Though this is not a bad specimen of its kind, Hopkinson apparently

¹ This was Hopkinson's favorite signature, though he had many others; he used it in most of his contributions to the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, and later in his letters to the *Pennsylvania Packet* and other newspapers.

² In *The Miscellaneous Essays* this is called "To Myrtilla: The Nest."

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thought that the type was obsolete even in his day, for he did not include it among his collected works.¹

"The Wasp"² is a short but rather labored conceit directed against "a critic born," whom the author compares to a wasp. Emerging from his mud cell, the insect flies to a steeple, which he tries first to sting and then to knock down by hurling his body against it. The result is that

The humbled *critic* rolls in dust
So stunn'd so bruis'd, he scarce can crawl.

During the summer and fall various persons took part in the discussion started by the Old Bachelor. In July the author of the first letter replied to Hopkinson's "Consolation," which he said bore unmistakable signs of having been written by a henpecked husband. In October, Hopkinson published "The Old Bachelor No. VI,"³ which purports to be a communication from the Old Bachelor himself, describing his sad plight during a recent illness. His servants had shamefully neglected him, and his relatives had manifested no concern about anything but his will; the only one who had shown him the slightest consideration was an old negro wench. As a result of this experience, his theories about matrimony had been completely upset:

Upon the whole, I *find* so many reasons to wish myself a married man; and *see* so many reasons to rejoice that I am not; that my mind is like the pendulum of a clock hanging in suspense, and perpetually vibrating between two opinions.

In the same issue Hopkinson published another essay entitled "Humorous Incidents Occasioned by the Ambi-

¹ The essay is signed "C. Philomones"; I identified it as Hopkinson's by finding it in the second volume of the Huntington manuscript collection.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 155-56. Its position between "The Nest" and "To the Memory of Mrs. Mary M'Kean" would indicate that it was written between 1768 and 1773.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 29-34. In the *Pennsylvania Magazine* this is signed "C."

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guity of the English Language.”¹ The subject—the difficulty a foreigner experiences in learning the English homonyms—is promising, but the incidents which the author relates to illustrate his points are too far-fetched to be very convincing. A servant, for example, who confuses his master’s mare with the mayor, buys a tailor’s goose for dinner, and tries to bridle a sawhorse, excites more incredulity than mirth. The foreigner’s difficulty with “cheer” and “chair,” however, is interesting as showing Hopkinson’s pronunciation of the latter word.

Besides the essays, Hopkinson contributed to the October number of the *Magazine* one old poem, “To Celia, on Her Wedding Day,” and one new one, “A Riddle,”² written in octosyllabic couplets. The latter describes the activities of some great force of nature in such detail that the most unskilful reader has no trouble in perceiving that the answer is “the wind.”

In November Hopkinson republished “A Morning Hymn,” which had appeared in the *American Magazine* in 1758. By way of new material, he contributed “An Answer to the Riddle in the Last Magazine, by a Lady”;³ and another “Riddle,”⁴ which describes with much elaboration an object that gives light and dies by inches.

In November a person signing himself “N. T. R.” criticized Hopkinson’s “Extraordinary Dream” for lack of coherence. In December an anonymous writer, probably

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 47–52.

² Both poems are signed “A.B.” The “Riddle” is not reprinted in *The Miscellaneous Essays*, but it is in the second volume of the *Huntington Collection*.

³ He further elaborated the camouflage by giving the lady’s address as New York; the manuscript, however, is in the second volume of the *Huntington Collection*.

⁴ In the second volume of the *Huntington Collection*; not in *The Miscellaneous Essays*.

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Hopkinson himself,¹ defended the essay by pointing out the fact that an accurate account of a dream must of necessity be somewhat incoherent. Whether or not Hopkinson took the trouble to answer "N. T. R." 's criticism, he was in no wise discouraged by it, for he continued to contribute voluminously to the magazine. In December he published "An Evening Hymn," written several years before, and added another number to the "Old Bachelor" series. This he called "The Bachelor No. VIII."² The adjective "old" he dropped as no longer appropriate because the Bachelor had met a young lady who had completely changed his outlook and plans.

In December the publisher of the *Pennsylvania Magazine* issued besides the regular number a "Supplement for the Year," in which Hopkinson published still another essay, entitled "Considerations on the Use and Abuse of Mottoes."³ The author here points out the fact that mottoes used in heraldic devices and as chapter headings are often strangely misapplied. To show how impossible it is to understand a sentence out of its context, he quotes several passages from the Psalms, the Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, which seem, when they stand alone, to give sanction to a number of objectionable practices: theft, covetousness, folly, tattling, injustice, suicide, revenge, uncleanness, drunkenness, cowardice, atheism, and "sin in general." The passages under the last heading are

"Be not righteous over-much."—Ecc. vii.

"Though a sinner doth evil an hundred times, yet surely I know it shall be well with him."—Ecc. viii.

"As is the good, so is the sinner."—Ecc. ix.

¹ The reply, like most of Hopkinson's contributions to the *Magazine*, is signed "A.B." For a list of Hopkinson's signatures the reader is referred to the Appendix.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 35-41.

³ Reprinted in *ibid.*, pp. 42-46.

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In January, 1776, Hopkinson contributed to the "poetical essays" section of the *Magazine* "An Answer to the Riddle in the November Magazine," and "Disappointed Love," revived for the occasion.¹

In January a writer using the signature "Aspasia" published in the *Magazine* an attack on Hopkinson's "The Bachelor." To this, someone—possibly Hopkinson—using the signature "The Bachelor," wrote an answer, which was published in the April number. The reply is not a very remarkable piece of writing. The author criticizes Aspasia's English, and warns her to beware lest N. T. R., the writer who had attacked "An Extraordinary Dream," take her in hand.

The next piece of writing that can positively be assigned to Hopkinson is "A Revery"²—another dream—which appears in the May number. This dream, the writer informs us, was occasioned by his reading in the thirty-fifth number of the *Guardian* that certain learned men had "determined the *pineal gland* to be the chief seat of the soul's residence." While reflecting upon "the singularity of the thought," he fell asleep and dreamed of visiting the pineal glands of a miser, a sot, and a libertine—in none of which he found anything very attractive or even, it would seem, very amusing.

In the section of Hopkinson's collected works in which he republished his contributions to the *Pennsylvania Magazine* we find an essay "On Adversity,"³ which never appeared in that periodical. This inaccuracy is probably accounted for by the fact that the publication ceased to exist

¹ Hopkinson again seeks to mystify the reader by using the signatures "Eudocia" and "A.B." The manuscript of the "Answer" is found in the second volume of the Huntington manuscripts.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 58-64.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-57.

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after July, 1776. The serious but rather dull essay "On Adversity" was doubtless written for the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, and was probably in the hands of the editor when the Revolution forced him to give up his enterprise.

That Hopkinson during the years 1775 and 1776 spent so much time on literary experiments is striking evidence of his interest in writing; it is not, as the reader might suppose, an indication that he was indifferent to the political troubles of his country. The fact that the Colonies were rapidly drifting toward war with England must have filled with concern every intelligent American, and particularly every American having close ties with the mother-country and holding offices under the Crown. It was necessary that Hopkinson take sides in the quarrel, but which side he would choose was problematical. Taking everything into consideration, however, one might have expected him to become a Loyalist. He had written three commencement exercises in praise of the Georges, and a "dissertation" on "The Reciprocal Advantages of a Perpetual Union," which were unimpeachable in their loyalty. His devotion to his sovereign had prompted him in 1766 to write on an inn wall in Coventry a reply to a pasquinade against His Majesty, George III. He had many Loyalist connections, whose favor he could ill afford to lose: John Penn, lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania, to whom he was attached by ties of friendship and interest; the Bishop of Worcester, his relative, whose high position appealed to his family pride, and whose fine character had won his respect and affection; Lord North, his cousin by marriage, the real ruler of England, from whom he had received political favors; and William Franklin, governor of New Jersey, through whose influence he had been made a provincial councilor. That a man so situated should become a Tory would seem

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almost inevitable. A Tory, however, he was not. Perhaps it was the influence of Franklin which led him to give up his powerful friends and abandon all prospects of royal favor to share the precarious fortunes of the American patriots. It has been suggested by one of his biographers¹ that his decision was due partly to his association with that staunch Whig, Joseph Borden; but it is more pleasant and just as reasonable to believe that the son of Mary Johnson Hopkinson was actuated by a loyalty of a higher type, and that the boy who amid his splendid surroundings at Hartlebury Castle grew homesick for "dear Philadelphia" would instinctively stand by his own people.

Whatever his motives, Hopkinson made his decision at the very beginning of the contest. In September, 1774, about the time of the meeting of the First Continental Congress, he published in Philadelphia a little book entitled *A Pretty Story*,² which gives in the form of an allegory a history of the events that occasioned that important assembly.³ The story is introduced by a Preface which is so cheery and debonair in tone that the reader would never suspect the serious purpose of the author:

¹ Mrs. Annie Russel Marble, *Heralds of American Literature*, p. 27.

² The complete title of the pamphlet is *A PRETTY STORY written in the YEAR OF OUR LORD 1774. By PETER GRIEVOUS, Esq., A.B.C.D.E.* According to Joseph Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to America*, three editions appeared in 1774. Two of these were printed by John Dunlap, of Philadelphia, and one by John Pinkney, of Williamsburg. In 1792 the allegory was reprinted in *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 65-91. Here the Preface is omitted, the title is cut to *A Pretty Story*, and changes are made in the text which make the work more moderate in tone but less interesting than the original. In 1857 Benson J. Lossing published in New York an illustrated and annotated edition of the original pamphlet, which he renamed *The Old Farm and the New Farm*. This attained sufficient popularity to justify the printing of a second edition in 1864.

³ Professor Moses Coit Tyler, in *The Literary History of the American Revolution*, I, 279-80, gives a vivid picture of the members of Congress, after their first meeting on September 5, stepping into John Dunlap's shop and finding there *A Pretty Story*, "just come from the printer's hands." Though I have searched carefully, I have been unable to find any evidence upon which to fix the date of publication so definitely.

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A Book is like a House: The grand Portico is the Dedication; the flagged Pavement is an humble Address to the Reader, in order to pave the Way for a kind Reception of the Work; the front Door with its fluted Pillars, Pediment, Trigliffs, and Modillions, are the Title Page, with its Motto, Author's Name and Titles, Date of the Year, &c.; the Entry is the Preface (oftentimes of tedious Length) and the several Apartments and Closets are the Chapters and Sections of the Work itself.

As I am but a clumsy Carpenter at best, I shall not attempt to decorate my little Cottage with any out of Door Ornaments; but as it would be inconvenient and uncomfortable to have my front Door open immediately into the Apartments of my House, I have made this Preface by Way of Entry.

After a few more remarks in similar vein, the author passes on to the story itself, which relates the family troubles of a certain nobleman. Because of his wealth, derived from a valuable farm and a large shop, this nobleman had become an important figure among his neighbors; and because of his wisdom and justice, he had long had peace in his own family. This peace was secured by concessions on the part of all concerned. The nobleman was acknowledged by his family to be the head of the house; but he had limited his power by making his wife "sole mistress of the *purse-strings*," and by agreeing to impose no task or hardship upon his children without her consent; moreover, he had promised never to punish one of his children for an offense until the accused had been tried and found guilty by twelve of his brethren. The wife likewise was prevented from exercising arbitrary power by the fact that her position was temporary. Every seven years the nobleman took a new wife, who was elected by his children and grandchildren. Finally, the children were guaranteed a continuance of their rights and privileges in a celebrated document known as the Great Paper, which their father had given them.

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Some time before the beginning of the story the nobleman had come into possession of a distant tract of wild land, to which a number of his more adventurous children later removed. Before they departed, they secured from their father permission to go, and a promise that he would protect them from the wild beasts that infested the new country. He assured them that in going so far from home they were not forfeiting their rights as members of his family, and he gave them permission to make rules for the government of the new country, provided those rules "should not be contradictory to, or inconsistent with, the general established orders of his household." The pioneers prospered in spite of the innumerable difficulties that beset them, and after a time found themselves comfortably settled in the new land. They did not, however, forget their old home. They kept up a constant correspondence with their father's family, and they purchased from their father's shop much merchandise, which they paid for with the fruits of their industry. All went well with the family at home and abroad until the nobleman, growing old and infirm, began to intrust the management of his affairs to his steward, a very evil character, who debauched his master's wife and deliberately augmented a jealousy which she already felt of her stepchildren on the new farm. So great was the hostility of the disreputable couple toward the colonists that they persuaded the nobleman to violate the rules of the Great Paper and levy in the new country a number of oppressive taxes.¹ Affairs gradually went from bad to worse until finally Jack, one of the nobleman's sons, lost his temper and destroyed some casks of gruel on which his father was trying to make

¹ The story describes in detail the effort of England to enforce the Stamp Act, the Townsend Act, the Declaratory Act, and other oppressive laws.

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him pay tax. At this act of insubordination the old gentleman became so enraged that he sent one of his own overseers to lock Jack's front gate and take charge of his farm until the gruel tax was paid.¹

The overseer, on his arrival, was welcomed with great respect:

Some of *Jack's* domestics had put on their Sunday clothes, and waited on the overseer in the great parlour, to pay him their compliments on his arrival; and to request his assistance in reconciling their father to them, and restoring peace and cordiality between the old and new farms. But he, in a most abrupt and rude manner, stopped them short in the midst of their address; called them a parcel of disobedient scoundrels; bid them go about their business; and turning round on his heel, left the room with an air of contempt and disdain.

With his front gate barred, Jack was unable to bring in provisions and other necessities; consequently, his family soon began to suffer privation. At this crisis, his brothers, learning of his plight, gathered supplies which they smuggled in over the garden wall.² Meanwhile, the overseer took "every opportunity to mortify and insult *Jack* and his family":

Observing that some of the children and domestics held frequent meetings and consultations together, sometimes in the garret, and sometimes in the stable, . . . he wrote a thundering prohibition, much like a pope's bull, which he caused to be pasted up in every room of the house—In which he declared and protested, that such meetings were treasonable, traitorous, and rebellious, contrary to the dignity of his master, the nobleman, and inconsistent with the duty they owed to his *omnipotent* wife: and threatened that if two of the family should be found whispering together, they should be sent over in chains to the old farm, and hanged upon the great gallows before the mansion-house.

¹ Hopkins explains the allegory with notes. Here he is, of course, referring to the Boston Tea Party, the Boston Port Bill, and the appointment of General Gage as governor of the province.

² This, says Hopkins, refers to "Money raised by the states for the relief of the poor of Boston."

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These harsh and unconstitutional proceedings of the overseer, so highly irritated *Jack*, and the other families of the new farm, that . . .

Cetera desunt

Before attempting to appraise *A Pretty Story* as a literary composition we should perhaps consider an adverse criticism that has been made against it, namely, that it is not strictly original. This objection has already been discussed by a very able scholar, Professor Moses Coit Tyler, who says:

Some critic was good enough, at an early day, to launch upon the world the opinion that Hopkinson's "Pretty Story" was closely modelled after Arbuthnot's "History of John Bull"; and this opinion seems to have held its own unchallenged since then, and to have thriven on mere repetition. The truth is, however, that Hopkinson's little book resembles Arbuthnot's in just one particular—it is an example of the use of allegory in the facetious treatment of national or international politics—a use of allegory almost as old as allegory itself; and, besides this, so far as thought, or form, or incident is concerned, there is almost no feature of resemblance between them. It is not to be doubted that Hopkinson had read "The History of John Bull," for he was a loving disciple and a true kinsman of the wits of the age of Queen Anne; yet he might easily have written every word of his own allegory, without ever having read any word of Arbuthnot's.¹

The only objection that can be raised against Professor Tyler's defense of Hopkinson is that it is too strong. There are unmistakable resemblances between the two stories. Parliament is represented by Arbuthnot as the wife of John Bull; by Hopkinson as the wife of the nobleman. John Bull is a clothier; the nobleman is a merchant and a landowner. In *The History of John Bull* Spain is referred to as a landed estate, and Scotland as the farm of John's sister, Peg; in *A Pretty Story* England and America are the old farm and the new farm. The English emigrants are spoken of by Hopkinson as farmers taking up new land;

¹ *The Literary History of the American Revolution*, I, 291.

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the Scotch by Arbuthnot as members of the family hired out at journey work to their neighbors. Finally, Hopkinson's name "Jack" for the Puritans of Massachusetts is the same as Arbuthnot's name for the Dissenters; the original source of the name, however, is Swift's *A Tale of a Tub*.

That the pamphlet was widely read is indicated by the fact that three editions appeared before 1775; its influence in the contest must therefore have been considerable. The literary value of the allegory and the reputation that it brought to its author are admirably expressed in the following criticism by Professor Tyler:

The personages included in "A Pretty Story" are few; its topics are simple and palpable, and even now in but little need of elucidation; the plot and incidents of the fiction travel in the actual footsteps of well-known history; while the aptness, the delicacy, and the humor of the allegory give to the reader the most delightful surprises, and are well sustained to the very end. Indeed the wit of the author flashes upon every legal question then at issue; and the stern and even technical debate between the colonies and the motherland is here translated into a piquant and bewitching novelette. . . .

By this neat and telling bit of work, Hopkinson took his true place as one of the three leading satirists on the Whig side of the American Revolution—the other two being John Trumbull and Philip Freneau. In the long and passionate controversy in which these three satirists bore so effective a part, each is distinguishable by his own peculiar note. The political satire of Freneau and of Trumbull is, in general, grim, bitter, vehement, unrelenting. Hopkinson's satire is as keen as theirs, but its characteristic note is one of playfulness. They stood forth the wrathful critics and assailants of the enemy, confronting him with a hot and an honest hatred, and ready to overwhelm him with an acerbity that was fell and pitiless. Hopkinson, on the other hand, was too gentle, too tender-hearted—his personal tone was too full of amenity—for that sort of warfare. A man who, in his private life, had so kindly and gracious a nature as to be able to establish intimate relations with a poor little Ishmaelite of a mouse which, on his taking his seat at table, would steal from its hiding-place and disport itself by him at his meals;

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or who could so prevail over the distrust and the fugaciousness of a flock of pigeons, that they would wait for him daily in his garden, would flutter around him as he approached, and contend for places on his person, crowding upon his head and shoulders, and even clinging to the slopes of his arms,—such a man was not the one to make use, even against his worst political enemies, of the rancorous and acrid methods of literary strife. As a satirist, therefore, Hopkinson accomplished his effects without bitterness or violence. No one saw more vividly than he what was weak, or despicable, or cruel, in the position and conduct of the enemy; but in exhibiting it, his method was that of good-humored ridicule. Never losing his temper, almost never extreme in emotion or in expression, with an urbanity which kept unfailingly upon his side the sympathies of his readers, he knew how to dash and discomfit the foe with a raillery that was all the more effective because it seemed to spring from the very absurdity of the case, and to be, as Ben Jonson required, “without malice or heat.”¹

Between October, 1774, and February, 1775, Benjamin Towne, the Philadelphia printer, brought out serially a pamphlet entitled *The First Book of the American Chronicles of the Times*. This work, which is written in the form of a scriptural parody, gives a humorous version of the incidents that took place at Boston just before the outbreak of the Revolution. The use of archaic language in narrating contemporary events is so skilfully managed as to produce some very ludicrous effects, which were highly appreciated by the readers of the pamphlet, most of whom were very familiar with the Old Testament narrative. The work was so popular that Towne was obliged to print three editions of the first chapter. As the various chapters appeared, they were reprinted by John Boyle and D. Kneeland, of Boston; James Davis, of Newbern, North Carolina; and Robertsons and Trumbull, of Norwich, Connecticut. The author ended his story abruptly at the sixth chapter, probably, as Professor Tyler suggests, because the

¹ Moses Coit Tyler, *op. cit.*, I, 290-92.

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fight at Lexington and Concord had brought a tragic element into the situation, which made it impossible for him to proceed in the vein in which he had begun.

Because it is written in a vivacious style, and because it was first published in Philadelphia, this pamphlet has been credited to Hopkinson by the New Jersey historian, Francis B. Lee,¹ and by no less an authority than Professor Tyler.² On the other hand, it is not in *The Miscellaneous Essays* or in any of the Hopkinson manuscript collections. Therefore it is necessary to examine the pamphlet itself for evidences of Hopkinson's authorship.

In the first place, there are many indications that the author of the pamphlet was very familiar with the city of Boston and the country round about, for he mentions by name Fish-Gate, Water-Gate, Market Place, Old South, Framingham, Salem, Seabrook, Plymouth, Nantucket, Marblehead, and Suffolk. He is equally well acquainted with the prominent citizens, of whom he calls by name at least twenty-five, in addition to the twenty or more whom he disguises as biblical characters. He tells the story of Gage's arrival with a wealth of detail that could hardly have been gathered by any one but an eyewitness. This intimate knowledge of place, people, and events was surely not possessed by Hopkinson, who, so far as we know, never visited Boston.

Apparently the author was not only a New Englander, but a descendant of New Englanders. He calls Boston "our city, the city of our forefathers, the New Canaan, the Land of Promise."³ He speaks triumphantly of the days

¹ See *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, II, 284.

² "I am inclined to think that the work was not written in New England, but in the neighborhood of Philadelphia: its humor is as the humor of Francis Hopkinson." See *The Literary History of the American Revolution*, I, 258 n.

³ Chap. i.

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when "the Lord our God clothed our forefathers in the wilderness, and their garments waxed not old."¹ And he asserts that obedience to the false king, "Rehoboam," will "disturb the ashes of our forefathers and former teachers, who were men of piety, disinterested virtue, and true Catholic reformation principles."²

The author was undoubtedly a Puritan. Imitating the story of Saul's visit to the Witch of Endor, he makes the priests of Boston, when oppressed by the "heathen," visit Mother Carey, the last of the witches, who calls up the spirit of the great Puritan leader, Oliver Cromwell. To him the spokesman of the priests delivers a laudatory address, part of which is as follows:

Thou broughtest true religion to the highest pitch, and banished enthusiasm, fanaticism, high church bigotry, popish superstition, and pretenders to saintship out of the land; thou shook his Holiness's chair, made the triple crown of the great dragon to totter; thou madest the papal cap to fall off from his hoary pate; thou pulled the purple robe from his shoulders, and made thereof a carpet for the soles of thy shoes; and thou left him as . . . an unfledged woodpecker.³

The author evidently held to Puritan ideals of conduct as well as to Puritan doctrine. For example, he accuses the chaplain of General Gage of "preferring a bottle of champagne to the fountain of living water," and of being "fonder of a backgammon table than a church Bible."⁴ Against Gage himself he makes a still more serious charge: "Moreover he defileth the Sabbath in that he traineth his men on the Lord's day; and have you not seen with your eyes how he stoppeth the wayside, that the congregation may not pass."⁵

In the summer of 1774 Parliament had sought to pre-

¹ Chap. vi.

³ Chap. iv.

² *Ibid.*

⁴ Chap. v.

⁵ Chap. i.

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vent disaffection in the Canadian provinces by passing the Quebec Act, a bill giving the French people of those provinces their Roman Catholic religion established by law. Upon this act the author of *The First Book of the American Chronicles* poured his superabundant stores of invective:

And moreover, O King, hast thou not made a Jesuitical decree, that our half brethren the Canadians and Quebeckites fall down and worship graven images? And peradventure we and our children [shall] be commanded to fall down and worship them also.

This he declared the people of Boston would never do:

We cannot apostatise, we will not though Belzebub [*sic*] himself should be bell-wether to his holiness, and stand at our gate with all his bald pated fryars, and imps of hell at his elbow, but firmly to a man resolved are we to hold fast our integrity. For O King, knowest thou not we ever had a great aversion to Bishops?¹

This fiery Puritan believed the Church of England to be the servile creature of the Church of Rome. To the King of England, for example, he applied the title, "Our Sovereign Lord Persecutor, by the Grace of Satan, King of Tyranny, Confusion and Popery, Defender of the Romish Faith, &C."² He showed his hostility to the Anglican clergy by abusing General Gage's chaplain, whom he accused of being a glutton, a drunkard, a persecutor, and a hypocrite generally—one who "cared little for God, and worshipped his own belly."³

Now all this is quite contrary to the spirit of Hopkinson. In his identified writings there is no abuse of the Roman Catholic church or of any other church. As for his attitude toward bishops, have we not seen him almost bursting with pride when he was invited to a seat beside the Bishop's throne in the cathedral of Worcester? He himself was a member of the Church of England; his

¹ Chap. vi.

² Chap. iv.

³ Chap. vi.

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brother and brother-in-law were clergymen of that church. In short, the attitude of this pamphlet toward religion is in itself almost conclusive evidence that Hopkinson was not the author.

In the second chapter the author describes the crown officers in America as a dark cloud from the North, "carrying a large swarm like unto locusts of sycophants, commissioners, duty-gatherers, custom-house officers, searchers, tide-waters, place-men and pensioners innumerable, . . . the bastards and spurious breed of noblemen, and the children of harlots." It is hardly probable that Hopkinson, himself a customs officer appointed by his relative, Lord North, and a member of the Governor's council, should have used such intemperate language in speaking of government officials.

Scattered through the *Chronicles* are isolated bits of evidence against Hopkinson's authorship that are in some cases more convincing than the general arguments that have already been produced. The pamphlet contains a great deal of invective—a type of writing in which Hopkinson did not indulge. The author uses the name of God and quotes passages from the Bible in an irreverent manner quite foreign to the spirit of Hopkinson. Hopkinson regularly uses the word "whilst" in all of his writings; the author of the *Chronicles* writes "while." In the first chapter of the parody, the age of Franklin (Mordecai) is given as eighty-five years—a blunder that Hopkinson could hardly have made. And, finally, it is highly improbable that Hopkinson on finishing *A Pretty Story* would immediately start another pamphlet on the same subject.¹

While discussing apocryphal works, we should perhaps

¹ Copies of this rare pamphlet are owned by the Library Compsny of Philadelphia and the Massachusetts Historical Society.

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mention another that has been attributed to Hopkinson—a ballad entitled “Liberty’s Call,” which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on October 23, 1775. Frank Moore, who quotes the poem in his *Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution*, says: “It was assigned to several different writers, notably Francis Hopkinson; but was probably the work of John Mason, an eccentric tradesman of Philadelphia.”¹ The ragged meter and imperfect rhymes of the verses are sufficient evidence that they were not written by Hopkinson. He had his limitations as a poet, but his faults were not those of rhyme or rhythm.

On July 20, 1775, the troubled American provinces observed a day of fasting and prayer. A few days later Hopkinson published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* “On the Late Continental Fast,” an essay which sums up the familiar grievances of the Colonies, and makes the following comment on the day that has just been celebrated:

In this deplorable Situation, with great Propriety are we directed to present our Petitions to the Throne of Heaven: where no Prime Minister shall obstruct or suppress our earnest Supplication—no venal Majority determine the Merits of our Cause.

How exceedingly solemn is the Idea of the Thousands and ten Thousands [of] Inhabitants of an injured & oppressed Country at one & the same Time suspending all their various Occupations of Life, at one & the same Time prostrating themselves with Fasting & Prayer before the God of their Worship. To Fasting & Prayer let public Virtue & private Morality & Piety be added, and we have the strongest Reason to hope that *God* the righteous Judge, whose thoughts are not Man’s Thoughts, will support us under our present Difficulties & deliver us from impending Evils; & in due Time cause Peace once more to smile on a happy People, & bless the Land with the Fruits of Encrease under the Auspices of *Liberty*.²

¹ Pp. 83-87.

² “On the Late Continental Fast” is in the second volume of the *Huntington Collection*; it is not included among *The Miscellaneous Essays*.

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The *Pennsylvania Gazette* on Wednesday, May 15, 1776, announced that "Next Friday is appointed by the Hon. CONTINENTAL CONGRESS to be kept as a Day of Fasting and Prayer throughout the Continent." In the collection of Mr. Edward Hopkinson is the manuscript of an oration which Francis Hopkinson on the day of fasting and prayer delivered in a "small village"—probably Bordentown. This oration is unique among the writings of Hopkinson because it has the structure of a sermon. The author took a text, Deut. 4:37-40, which he applied to America. Next he suggested that the troubles of his countrymen might have been sent as punishment for sin. Then he reviewed the causes of the war, declared his belief in the righteousness of the American cause, and urged his hearers to put their trust in God and to stand firm. He exhorted his hearers to cultivate "charity and unanimity" among themselves, and warned them not to neglect their religious duties. That he fully realized the seriousness of the situation is revealed in the stirring words that closed his address:

We know not how soon the Blood-Hounds of War may howl around our Dwellings. We know not how soon the Foot of the Plunderer may enter our Threshold and the Hands of Rapine strip us not only of our worldly Possessions, but dispossess the immortal Soul herself of her earthly Tabernacle, and send her forth a wing'd Seraph to the Bosom of her God, or precipitately plunge her in the dark Abyss of Misery & Woe. It behooves us therefore to prepare for so awful an Event; & to fortify our Minds with the Virtues, the Graces, the Comforts of the Gospel of Christ. In a Word let us know & consider it in our Hearts that the Lord he is God in Heaven Above, & upon the Earth beneath, & that there is none else. Let us keep his Statutes & Commandments that it may go well with us & with our Children & that our Days may be prolonged in the Land which the Lord our God hath given to our Fathers for an Inheritance for them & their Seed forever.

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After Lexington and Bunker Hill the more radical of the Americans began to clamor for a declaration of independence. To the older men, however, and particularly to those who had been born in England, this seemed a violent and unnecessary measure. Such a conservative was Dr. William Smith, a defender of American rights, but an opponent of separation, who in the spring of 1776 published over the signature of "Cato" a series of eight powerful essays attacking the heresy that was growing up.¹ At the close of his argument his attitude toward the contest is clearly expressed in these words:

We have already declared ourselves independent, as to all useful purposes, by resisting our oppressors upon our own foundation. And while we keep on this ground, without connecting ourselves with any foreign nations to involve us in fresh difficulties and endanger our liberties still further, we are able, in our own element, upon the shore, to continue the resistance. And it is our duty to continue it till Great Britain is convinced (as she soon must be) of her fatal policy; and opens her arms to reconciliation, upon the permanent and sure footing of mutual interest and safety.

Dr. Smith soon found able opponents. First, James Cannon, one of his subordinates on the college faculty, had the temerity to attack his chief in a series of letters signed "Cassandra." Then appeared a more formidable adversary signing himself "The Forester," of whom John Adams wrote: "The writer of 'Common Sense' and 'The Forester' is the same person. His name is Paine, a gentleman about two years from England, a man who General Lee says has genius in his eyes."² And, finally, there came a reply which,

¹ The "Cato Letters" appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in March and April, 1776. Dr. Smith's authorship is undisputed: it is attested by John Adams, Francis Hopkinson, Moses Coit Tyler, and the Provost's descendant and biographer, Horace W. Smith. See the *Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife*, p. 167; *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 94; *The Literary History of the American Revolution*, I, 487; and *The Life and Correspondence of William Smith*, I, 575.

² *Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife*, p. 167.

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though comparatively mild in tone, must, if he read it, have hurt the good Provost more than the other two combined, for it was by his friend and former pupil, Francis Hopkinson. This reply is a tract entitled "A Prophecy";^{*} in it a seer of a bygone age predicts the events that were then taking place in America.

Since "A Prophecy" is brief, and since it illustrates admirably the style of Hopkinson's political satire, it is here quoted in full:

Now it shall come to pass in the latter days, that a new people shall rise up in a far country, and they shall increase exceedingly, and many shall flock unto them; and they shall build cities in the wilderness, and cultivate their lands with the hand of industry, and the fame of them shall spread far and near.

And it shall be that the king of islands shall send over and plant in the midst of them a certain tree. Its blossoms shall be delightful to the eye; its fruit pleasant to the taste, and its leaves shall heal them of all manner of diseases. And the people shall cultivate this tree with all possible care, and they shall live under the shadow of its branches, and shall worship it as a God.

But in process of time, there shall arise a *North* wind, and shall blast the tree, so that it shall no longer yield its fruit, or afford shelter to the people, but it shall become rotten at the heart; and the *North* wind will break the branches thereof, and they shall fall upon the heads of the people, and wound many.

Then a prophet² shall arise from amongst this people, and he shall exhort them, and instruct them in all manner of wisdom, and many shall believe in him; and he shall wear spectacles upon his nose; and reverence and esteem shall rest upon his brow. And he will cry aloud, and say—Seeing that this tree hath no strength in it, and that it can

^{*} *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 92-97. In the Bibliography of her *Heralds of American Literature* Mrs. Annie Russell Marble lists "A Prophecy" as a pamphlet published in 1776. Neither Sabin, Hildeburn, nor Evans, however, has any record of such a pamphlet. One would expect to find the essay in the *Gazette*, or in one of the other Philadelphia papers that printed the letters of "Cato," "Cassandra," and "The Forester," but I have never discovered it, though I have searched repeatedly with great care.

² "Dr. F—n."—Hopkinson's note.

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no longer shelter us from the winds of the *North*, but is become rotten in the heart; behold now, let us cut it down and remove it from us: And in its place we will plant another tree, young and vigorous; and we will water it, and it shall grow, and spread its branches abroad. And moreover, we will build an high wall to defend it from the winds of the *North*: that it may be well with us, and our children, and our children's children.

And the people shall hearken to the voice of their prophet, for his sayings shall be good in their eyes. And they shall take up every man his spade and his ax, and shall prepare to dig up and cut away the shattered remains of the blasted and rotten tree, according to the words of their prophet.

Then a certain wise man shall arise, and shall call himself CATO;¹ and he shall strive to persuade the people to put their trust in the rotten tree, and not to dig it up, or remove it from its place. And he shall harangue with great vehemence, and shall tell them that a rotten tree is better than a sound one; and that it is for the benefit of the people that the *North* wind should blow upon it, and that the branches thereof should be broken and fall upon and crush them.

And he shall receive from the king of the islands, fetters of gold and chains of silver; and he shall have hopes of great reward if he will fasten them on the necks of the people, and chain them to the trunk of the rotten tree. And this he shall strive to do by every insinuating art in his power. And shall tell the people, that they are not fetters and chains, but shall be as bracelets of gold on their wrists, and rings of silver on their necks, to ornament and decorate them and their children. And his words shall be sweet in the mouth, but very bitter in the belly.²

Moreover, he will threaten them, that if they will not obey his voice, he will whistle with his lips, and *raw-head* and *bloody-bones* shall come out of *France* to devour them and their little ones; and he will blow with his horn, and the wild bull of *Spain* will come and gore them with his horns, and trample upon them with his hoofs, even until they

¹ "Dr. S—h."—Hopkinson's note.

² "Dr. Smith was accused of promising offices, titles, and other marks of favor as a reward for opposing American Independence." See Moses Coit Tyler, *op. cit.*, I, 489.

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die. And he shall stand upon *Mounfeir*, and shall pun upon *Mounfeir* in the face of all the people.¹ And all the people shall laugh him to scorn.

And it shall come to pass that certain other wise men shall also stand up and oppose themselves to *Cato*; and shall warn the people not to trust in the allurements of his voice, nor be terrified with his threats, and to hearken to his puns no more. And they shall encourage the people to go on with the work they had taken in hand, according to the words of their prophet. And they shall earnestly exhort the people to despise and reject the fetters of gold and the chains of silver, which the king of the islands would fasten upon them.

And one of these wise men shall call himself CASSANDRA, and the other shall call himself THE FORESTER: and they shall fall upon *Cato*, and shall strip him of every disguise, and shew him naked before all the people. And *Cassandra* shall tie him up, and the *Forester* shall scourge him until he shall become exceeding sore. Nevertheless, *Cato* shall not repent, but shall harden his heart, and become very stubborn, and shall be vexed till he die. And when he shall be dead, his funeral oration shall be pronounced. And the heads of the people shall order that his funeral oration be printed; that all men may know of his death. Howbeit, in those days, it shall not be customary for the heads of the people to desire that funeral orations should be printed; yet that all men may know of *Cato's* death, and that the people may be delivered from the fear of the raw-head and bloody-bones of *France*, and the wild bull of *Spain*, his funeral oration shall be printed.

And in process of time, the people shall root up the rotten tree, and in its place they shall plant a young and vigorous tree, and shall effectually defend it from the winds of the *North* by an high wall. And they shall dress it, and prune it, and cultivate it to their own good liking. And the young tree shall grow and flourish and spread its branches far abroad: and the people shall dwell under the shadow of its branches, and shall become an exceeding great, powerful, and happy nation. And of their encrease there shall be no end.

And *Cato* and his works shall be no more remembered amongst them. For *Cato* shall die, and his works shall follow him.

Such were the words of Francis Hopkinson to his countrymen on the eve of the Declaration of Independence.

¹ Alluding to the argument that without the protection of England the Colonies would soon fall a prey to France and Spain.

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Harried and oppressed, hurt and indignant, already in armed rebellion and not knowing what to do next, the Americans needed leaders like the author of this pamphlet, who by his good sense confirmed their convictions, and by his cheerful optimism encouraged them to go on and bring about the fulfilment of the prophecy.

The period between his return from England and the Declaration of Independence saw the real beginning of Francis Hopkinson's active career. Marriage put an end to his dawdling and forced him to active exertion in business. His journey to England proved not to have been in vain after all, for it led to his being appointed a collector of customs and a provincial councilor. These two offices, together with his law practice, changed him from a dilettante to a prosperous man of affairs. His interest in writing continued, but took a new direction. He almost abandoned lyric poetry, for which he had no real genius, and took up instead the Addisonian essay—a type of literature much better suited to his abilities. The establishment of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, which was very hospitable to his productions, encouraged him to renewed activity in his favorite avocation. The beginning of the year 1776 would have found him a very fortunate and happy man had it not been for the political outlook. That, however, was most ominous. The exasperating but semihumorous situation described in *A Pretty Story* had changed to a very tragical one. The nobleman's sons had been completely abandoned by their father to the mercies of the unjust Steward and his Overseer, and some of them had already forfeited their lives in the struggle against their oppressors. Hopkinson himself had not viewed the events of 1774-76 with indifference. In 1774 he protested against the policy of England displayed at Boston, in 1775 he exhorted his

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fellow-countrymen to courage and faith in the struggle for liberty, and early in 1776 he came out boldly and unreservedly for separation from England. When he wrote "A Prophecy," Hopkinson very definitely turned his back upon the past. No more was he to receive or ask favors from his friends and relatives in England; never again was he to defend George III against the insults of Englishmen or to write verses in praise of kings, living or dead. In this demand for independence he bade farewell to whatever prospects he enjoyed under the royal favor, and accepted without condition the hazardous fortunes of his own people.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL SERVICES DURING THE REVOLUTION

By the spring of 1776 it had become manifest that the friends of conciliation were to be disappointed: England was firm in her determination that the colonists must submit, and the Americans were equally stubborn in their resolution never to do so. In all the provinces the party of Cato dwindled day by day, and particularly in New Jersey, where the Whigs were preparing to silence the Loyalists completely. Their method was simple, but effective: In June they adopted a new constitution, which necessitated a new election of representatives to the Continental Congress. The purpose of this election is tersely expressed in a letter written by Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant to John Adams on June 15:

Facta est alea. We are passing the Rubicon and our delegates in Congress, on the first of July, will vote plump. The bearer is a staunch Whig and will answer any question you may need to ask. I have been very busy here and have stolen a few minutes to write this.¹

The fight ended as Sergeant had predicted. On June 21,² 1776, the election of delegates to Congress was held, and Richard Stockton, Abraham Clark, John Hart, John Witherspoon, and Francis Hopkinson were chosen. The instructions issued to these delegates is a beautiful example of the clear and forceful style which the American leaders were at times able to achieve:

¹ *The Works of John Adams* (ed., Charles Francis Adams), III, 55-56.

² This is the date given by the *Journals of the Continental Congress*. According to the *Minutes of the Provincial Council of New Jersey*, however, the election took place on June 22.

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The Congress empower & direct you, in the Name of this Colony, to join with the Delegates of the other Colonies in Continental Congress, in the most vigorous Measures for supporting the just Rights and Liberties of America; and, if you shall judge it necessary or expedient for this Purpose, we empower you to join with them in declaring the United Colonies independent of Great Britain, entering into a Confederacy for Union and common Defence, making Treaties with foreign Nations for Commerce and Assistance, and to take such other Measures as may appear to them and you necessary for these great Ends; promising to support them with the whole Force of this Province; always observing, that, whatever Plan of Confederacy you enter into, the Regulating the internal Police of this Province is to be reserved to the Colony Legislature.¹

On Friday, June 28, Francis Hopkinson, accompanied by Richard Stockton and Dr. Witherspoon, appeared in the Continental Congress and presented the credentials of the New Jersey delegation;² John Hart and Abraham Clark probably did not arrive until about the first of July.³ The New Jersey representatives found Congress very gravely considering the proposed Declaration of Independence. John Dickinson had made a strong speech against the measure, but the advocates of separation were so confident that no one thought it worth while to reply. Just as the vote was about to be taken, however, "the new delegates from New Jersey came in, and Mr. Stockton, Dr. Witherspoon, and Mr. Hopkinson, very respectable characters, expressed a great desire to hear the arguments." To gratify these respectable and conscientious representatives John Adams gave an impromptu recapitulation of "reasons, objections, and answers." His arguments were convincing, it would appear, for on July 2 the gentlemen from New Jersey voted

¹ Taken from the copy of the instructions in the *Emmet Collection*, owned by the New York Public Library.

² *Journals of the Continental Congress*, V, 489.

³ John H. Hazelton, *The Declaration of Independence; Its History*, p. 434.

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for independence, and on July 4 signed the immortal Declaration.¹

Hopkinson's feelings on this momentous occasion are expressed in the following extract from a letter written on July 31 to his brother-in-law, Dr. Samuel S. Coale, of Baltimore:

New Jersey hath thought proper to honour me with a Part of their Delegation in Congress, so that for the Present I have taken up my Abode with my Mother in order to attend that venerable Body. The Service is indeed very severe, as we have a vast deal of Business of the first importance to go thro: but if my poor Abilities can be of any Service to my Country in this her Day of Trial, I shall not complain of the Hardship of the Task. . . .

The Dr is in New York in the Service of his Country. We expect every Day to hear of some important Event from that Quarter. We are very anxious but have lively Hopes of Success. Our Troops are hearty, eager for Action & full of Spirits—animated I verily believe by the true Spirit of Patriotism. When Men of Fortune turn common Sold[iers] to fight for their Liberties against [the] Hand of Oppression, Success I b[elieve] must attend their honest Efforts [and the] mercenary Tools of Tyrannic Power must shrink before them.²

That he took his new duties seriously is indicated by a letter which he wrote on July 23 to the Provincial Council of New Jersey, asking how many delegates from a province must be present in order to represent that province in Congress:

I am told you have made one Delegate sufficient for this Purpose: but as I have no good Authority for this Opinion and was the other Day the only Member from Jersey attending in Congress, I was in great Doubt as to the Propriety of giving my Vote.³

¹ This paragraph is a summary of the account given by John Adams. See his *Works*, III, 54 ff.

² Letter in the collection of Mr. Edward Hopkinson. Dr. Coale, a graduate of the Philadelphia Medical College, had married Hopkinson's youngest sister, Ann, in 1775. The manuscript is slightly defaced, so that a few words and parts of words are missing.

³ John H. Hazelton, *op. cit.*, p. 543.

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According to his colleague, Dr. Benjamin Rush, Hopkinson "took but small part in the business of Congress."¹ This statement probably means only that he took little part in the debates, for the *Journals of the Continental Congress* show that he was busy with executive work as long as he was a member of that body. On the day of his arrival he was appointed a member of the committee then engaged in preparing a plan of confederation for the Colonies.² On July 25 he took part in the discussion of a report of this committee.³ On July 12 he was added to the Marine Committee,⁴ and five days later he was made a member of a committee appointed to publish the *Journals of Congress*.⁵ On September 27 he was appointed on a committee to consider letters of Washington recommending more liberal treatment of soldiers,⁶ and on September 30 he was added to the Committee on the Treasury.⁷ During October and November he served on committees appointed to consider a petition presented by an army officer,⁸ to prepare a plan for regulating the Treasury Board,⁹ to try to recover dispatches stolen from one of Washington's messenger's to Congress,¹⁰ and to report on certain resolutions sent to Congress by the Convention of the State of New York.¹¹ He was a member of the Secret Committee,¹² and of the Committee of Intelligence appointed "to select and

¹ Dr. Benjamin Rush, *A Memorial*, p. 110.

² *Op. cit.*, V, 471.

³ *Ibid.*, VI, 1077. See also *The Works of John Adams*, II, 492 ff.

⁴ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, V, 556.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 572. The work of this committee was not completed until 1777, when the *Journals* of 1774-75 and 1776 were published in two volumes. See the article of Herbert Friedenwald in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXI.

⁶ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, V, 830.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 836.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 886.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 927.

⁸ *Ibid.*, VI, 882.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 907.

¹² *Ibid.*, V, 662.

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report such authentic accounts, as are, from time to time, received by Congress, of the state of the armies and navy of the United States, as they shall judge proper to be published by authority of Congress."¹

Hopkinson's work in Congress was evidently satisfactory to his constituents, for on September 4, 1776, the Council and Assembly of New Jersey in joint session appointed him associate justice of the state Supreme Court.² This honor he declined, in a letter which brought from John Hart, the chief justice, this interesting reply:

PRINCE TOWN, Sept. 12th, 1776

DEAR SIR:—

I have now before me your Favour of the 7th instant. I am sorry that you intend to Resign the appointment of such an important office as one of the Judges of the Supream Court of this State, at this critical crisis when the assistance of every Good Man is wanted to add treuth to our New Constitution to which I know you to be a stanch friend, notwithstanding yours to me is to be considered as a private letter, I thought the Public so much interested in the affair that I could not Refrain Leting some of your and my Particular friends know some thing of your intention, they are no more at a Loss to guess than myselfe what is the Reason that you Dicline to accept. But as it is now out of our power to make any alteration they are Desirous that you will Please to Ree Consider the matter and are of oppinion with me that it is Best for you as well as the Publick to Take upon yourself the office, I wish it was in my power to have a personal Conferance with you on this important affair but as it is not at present, I must conclude with Leaving these few broken hints to your consideration and am with

Great Regard Your Sincere friend
and Humble Servant

JOHN HART³

¹ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, VI, 886.

² *New Jersey Archives* (1st series), X, 428, quoting Vroom's *Supreme Court Rules*, p. 37. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of September 25 gives the complete list of judicial appointments: chief justice, John Hart; second judge, Samuel Tucker; third judge, Francis Hopkinson.

³ Letter in the collection of the late Mr. Simon Gratz, of Philadelphia.

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On September 6, 1776, the Council and Assembly of New Jersey appointed a joint committee to design a state seal. This committee on October 3 reported that

they have considered the Subject and taken the Sentiments of several intelligent Gentlemen thereon: and are of Opinion that *Francis Hopkinson*, Esq., should be immediately engaged to employ proper Persons at Philadelphia to prepare a Silver Seal, which is to be round, of two and a half Inches diameter, and three-eighths of an Inch thick, and the Arms shall be three Ploughs in an Escutcheon; the Supporters, Liberty and Ceres; and the Crest a Horse's Head; these words are to be engraved in large Letters round the Arms viz., "THE GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY."¹

Hopkinson accepted the commission and secured the assistance of Pierre Eugene du Simitière, who had already designed great seals for Georgia, Delaware, and Virginia.² From the resolution of the committee it is evident that Du Simitière's work in this case was that of a draftsman employed to execute a design already worked out. Who was the author of this design is not known, but there is a tradition that he was Francis Hopkinson.³ That Hopkinson should have prepared the design is not improbable, since he had considerable artistic talent and since he had already helped to design the seal of the American Philosophical Society. In the seal itself, moreover, there is a detail which is perhaps significant: This is the crest, a horse's head similar to that found on the family coat-of-arms which Hopkinson copied from the tomb of Matthew Hopkinson in Paddington Churchyard.

In the sketch of John Hart published in the *New Jersey Archives* occurs this statement: "In the selection of a new

¹ Francis B. Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, III, 335.

² Eugene Zieber, *Heraldry in America*, pp. 159-60.

³ Francis B. Lee (*op. cit.*, II, 283) says: "Under his [Hopkinson's] direction, Du Simitière drew the design for the Great Seal of New Jersey, which design Hopkinson is said to have conceived."

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delegation of Congressmen, November 30, 1776, Mr. Hart and Francis Hopkinson were omitted, for what reason does not appear."¹ The reason for the omission was that both had been called to other important work. John Hart, in addition to being chief justice of New Jersey, was speaker of the assembly. The nature of Hopkinson's employment is revealed in two extracts from the *Journals of the Continental Congress*. On November 6 it was resolved "that three persons well skilled in maritime affairs, be immediately appointed to execute the business of the navy under the direction of the Marine Committee."² On November 18 "the Marine Committee having recommended Francis Hopkinson, Esq^r as a fit person to execute the business of the navy under their direction," it was "resolved that he be accepted."³ Hopkinson's work was to serve as one of three commissioners on what was known as the Continental Navy Board. The other two members of the commission were John Nixon and John Wharton. The former, a shipping merchant, was the owner of the vessel the "Black Prince," which he sold in the fall of 1775 to the Marine Committee, who renamed it the "Alfred" and made it the first ship of the American navy. The latter was a prominent citizen and a member of a distinguished Philadelphia family. When first appointed, these commissioners, whose headquarters were at Philadelphia, administered all the business of the American navy: They built, fitted, and provisioned ships; they hired seamen and commissioned officers; and they exercised complete authority over the discipline of the fleet, through their power

¹ *Op. cit.* (1st series), X, 270.

² *Journals of the Continental Congress*, VI, 929.

³ *Ibid.*, 958. The letter announcing his appointment is among the *Hopkinson Official Documents* in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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to summon courts of inquiry and courts-martial. In short, the Marine Committee turned over to them all authority except that of appointing the commander-in-chief and directing the movements of the fleet.¹ After a time their labors became so onerous that Congress, in the spring of 1777, appointed a second board with headquarters at Boston,² but the work of Hopkinson and his associates still remained infinitely complex and difficult.³

Hopkinson seems to have served, not only as chairman, but as secretary of the Navy Board, since letters that were sent out by that body, many of which are still in existence, are for the most part in his hand. The number and variety of the things he had to do may be learned from the specimens of his official correspondence that have survived. On April 1, 1777, he published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* a notice summoning all surgeons and warrant officers of the navy not in actual service to report to the board every Monday and Thursday. On April 10 he wrote to the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania a letter containing this interesting statement and request:

The Frigate Delaware hath now fallen down the River and is ready to proceed to Sea. Many of her Sea-Men however are yet on Shoar [*sic*] and as we have good Reason to apprehend that they mean to escape to the Southward, we request the Favour of you to issue Orders to the four Ferries on the Schuylkill that no Sea-Man or Mariner be suffered to cross without a Pass from such Authority as you may think proper to appoint.⁴

¹ Even the direction of the fleet was sometimes delegated to them in times of emergency.

² The board at Boston was called the Navy Board of the Eastern Department; that at Philadelphia the Navy Board of the Middle Department.

³ For further information with regard to the work of the Navy Board the reader is referred to Charles O. Paullin, *The Navy of the American Revolution*, and *Out-Letters of the Continental Marine Committee*.

⁴ Letter in the collection of the late Mr. Simon Gratz, of Philadelphia.

LIFE AND WORKS OF FRANCIS HOPKINSON

On April 17 he wrote to the Pennsylvania Board of War informing them that the Navy Board had been given no authority to interfere in the disposition of prisoners, and hence could not "undertake to give any Orders respecting Lieu^t Elphinston."¹ On May 20 he wrote again to the same board to request the loan of "4 Four Pounders on Carriages" to take the place of six guns that Congress had ordered sent to Cape May.² On July 1 he advertised in the *Packet* an exchange of prisoners. On August 6 he copied—evidently for the purpose of sending it to the fleet—a resolution of Congress, providing that

the Sum of four Thousand Dollars be paid to the Officers & Men on Board any Fire Ship in the River Delaware & to the Officers & Men of any Chain of Fire Rafts which shall actually set on Fire & destroy any one of the Enemy's Ships of War of Twenty Guns or upward.³

On the same date the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania granted a petition of the Navy Board for two pilots,⁴ but refused another requesting permission to commandeer vessels and materials.⁵ On October 3 Hopkinson wrote a long letter to Captain Isaiah Robinson, one of the commanders of the fleet, thanking him for the zeal he had shown in the service and urging him to be economical in the use of supplies which the board were sending him.⁶

The chief concern of the board was, of course, the safety of the American ships in the Delaware, which were men-

¹ Letter in the collection of the late Mr. Simon Gratz, of Philadelphia.

² Letter in the *Dreer Collection of the Signers*, owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

³ This resolution, copied in Hopkinson's handwriting, is in the New Jersey Historical Society, at Newark.

⁴ *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, XI, 260.

⁵ *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st series), V, 489.

⁶ Letter in the *Charles Roberts Collection*, Haverford College. To the letter is attached an invoice of supplies, which includes 460 gallons of country rum for the men and 106 gallons of India rum for the officers.

SERVICES DURING THE REVOLUTION

aced, not only by the British fleet, but by the army as well. As early as July 31, 1777, the board, realizing that the British might take Philadelphia, ordered Captain John Barry, commander of the frigate "Effingham," and Captain Thomas Read, commander of the "Washington," to secure without delay sufficient sail and rigging to enable them to remove all shipping up the river to a place of safety.¹ When Howe captured Philadelphia on September 25, the Navy Board removed to Bordentown, whence, on October 7, they sent to the Marine Committee the following report of the measures they had taken to prevent vessels and other property from falling into the hands of the enemy:

On the near Approach of the Enemy to our Capital, we ordered all our Naval Stores, Slops &ca together with the Books and Papers of the Navy Board, Pay Office & Comm^{rs} of Naval Stores to be embarked in the Frigates & the Packet Mercury. After much Toil & no small Expence our Ships arrived safe at this Place. Our next Care was to send off the Books & Papers of the several Offices to Easton & to dispose of the Stores, Provisions &ca in Places of Secrecy at some Distance from the Water. Some we have dispersed in Farm Houses a few Miles back; others we have put into Shallops to run up Croswick's Creek out of the Reach of the present Danger.²

When the British captured Philadelphia, they took the frigate "Delaware."³ Two other frigates, the "Washington" and the "Effingham," remained in possession of the Americans, but since they were not fully manned, they too were in danger of being captured. Fort Mercer, on the New Jersey side of the river, and Fort Mifflin, on an island near

¹ Letter owned by the Wisconsin Historical Society.

² Facsimile copies of this letter are in the *Emmet Collection*, owned by the New York Public Library, and in William Brotherhead, *The Book of the Signers*, p. 31.

³ Hopkinson refers to the loss of this frigate in the letter to Captain Isaiah Robinson previously mentioned. "It would give us much Pleasure," he remarks, "to hear that the Delaware was retaken, or destroyed."

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the opposite shore, still controlled navigation below Philadelphia, but they were besieged by the British ships in the river below and by an army of Hessians sent against them by General Howe. Near Red Bank Island, between the two forts, lay a fleet of small vessels, floating batteries, and fire rafts, under command of Commodore Hazlewood, who on October 23 did valiant service in helping repulse an attack, during which two British warships were blown up.¹ Although the soldiers and sailors on the lower Delaware put up a gallant defense, Washington knew that they were hopelessly outnumbered. Accordingly, on October 27, he ordered the Navy Board to sink the frigates and all other vessels that might be serviceable to the enemy.² On receiving Washington's letter the board, who had been preparing for such an emergency, ordered the commanders of the frigates to send their ships to the bottom. Hopkinson's instructions to Captain Barry were as follows:

SIR,

As we understand your Ship is now scuttled & ready for sinking, you are hereby directed to remove her a little below White Hill, & having found a suitable Berth where she may lye on a soft Bottom & be easily got off at a common Tide, you are to sink her there without further Delay. We expect this Business will be compleated by Sun-Set this Evening & Report thereof made to the Board.³

The commanders, who were preparing to defend the frigates, protested against the order of the board; Captain Barry, indeed, lost his temper and showed a spirit of insubordination which later brought him a rebuke from Congress.⁴ The board, however, stood firm, and Hopkinson

¹ Letter of October 25, from the Navy Board to Washington; in the Library of Congress, *Washington Papers*, Vol. LIX, No. 7546.

² *The Writings of George Washington* (ed., Jared Sparks), V, 116-18.

³ Letter of November 2, among the *Elting Papers of the Signers*, owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁴ See the *Journals of the Continental Congress*, X, 189.

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himself went down the river to oversee the sinking of the ships, which took place about November 7.

Meanwhile, on November 4 the Marine Committee, having been informed by the Navy Board of Washington's order, rushed through a resolution of Congress recommending a plan that Hopkinson had previously suggested for the protection of the frigates. The substance of the recommendation was that the ships be hauled up on shore or into the mouth of some creek; that the channel be blocked with the hulls of smaller craft; that a battery be "constructed with the guns of the 'Washington' on the most convenient ground to cover the frigates from the enemy"; and that "the frigates should be charged properly with combustibles and a careful watch employed under a vigilant officer to burn them rather than let them fall into the hands of the enemy."¹ On receiving the resolution of Congress, Washington naturally assumed that the Navy Board had not carried out his instructions, and accordingly sent them a letter explaining that he considered the recommendation of Congress impracticable and again ordering them immediately to sink the frigates and all other vessels capable of being converted into armed ships.² On receiving Washington's second order, the board sent him a long letter explaining that although they had originally planned to defend the vessels with a battery and had asked the advice of Congress about the matter, they had promptly obeyed his orders.

The Frigates have been long since sunk, & now lie fast aground in a Place where they can receive no Danger from the Ice & cannot possibly be got off by the Enemy unless they know the particular Parts where

¹ This recommendation is in the Library of Congress, *Washington Papers*, Vol. LIX, No. 7656.

² Letter of November 9, in *ibid.*, Vol. LX, No. 7703.

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they have been bored, & of which we have a secret Gage that will enable us to raise them with Ease when a suitable Time shall offer.

Moreover, the board had grounded the smaller craft in Crosswicks Creek, Bordentown, and were preparing to sink a vessel in the channel at the mouth of the stream to prevent their being taken by the enemy.¹ Finally, the board expressed their regret that the misunderstanding had made them appear delinquent in their duties.

It gives us great Concern to think your Excellency should for a Moment suppose us capable of neglecting your earnest Instructions after having so solemnly assured you we would strictly obey them. We confess, however, the Resolve of Congress in Consequence of our former Representation, gave you sufficient Reason to suppose we had applied to that Body instead of following your Advice.²

To this letter Washington sent the following gracious reply two days later:

HEADQUARTERS, 12 November, 1777

GENTLEMEN:

I have your fav^r of the 10th and am only sorry that I did not sooner know my request of sinking the Frigates had been complied with. The delay of the Resolve of Congress, from the time you first applied for their advice, was what led me into a mistake, and I am obliged to you for the genteel manner in which you excuse me. I am perfectly satisfied with the measures you have taken to secure the shipping and desire when you have no further occasion for the Men that they may be disposed of as directed in my former letters. I am &c

G^o WASHINGTON³

With the frigates at the bottom of the river, Hopkinson might reasonably have considered his troubles about them

¹ Mr. Edward Hopkinson informs me that the hulks of these boats were still visible at low tide when he as a boy fished in Crosswicks Creek.

² Letter of November 10, in the Library of Congress, *op. cit.*, Vol. LX, No. 7762.

³ A copy of this letter is in the *Sparks Collection*, owned by the Harvard Library.

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to be at an end. He was not so fortunate, however, for after the Americans, on November 21, had abandoned the defenses below Philadelphia, he was obliged to ask Washington for permission to raise the vessels in order to provide quarters for the officers and crews of the Red Bank fleet, nearly four hundred in number, who had retired to Borden-town after destroying their ships.¹ To this request the Commander gave a rather grudging consent, for he realized that the British would sooner or later extend their operations up the river.²

This brings the account of the activities of the Navy Board during the winter of 1777-78 practically to a close. Early in January they planned a very unusual attack on the British fleet in the Delaware,³ but their efforts led to no practical results. On January 11 Hopkinson reported to Congress the insolence of Captain Barry; and on February 21 Congress passed a resolution,

That Capt. Barry hath treated the said board, in the person of Mr. Hopkinson, one of that board, with indecency and disrespect, and that he ought, within twenty days after this resolve shall have been notified to him by the said board, make such acknowledgments as shall be satisfactory to them.⁴

Since Congress, on receiving the report against Barry, had resolved that he "be not employed in the expedition assigned to his conduct, by the approbation of Congress, by the Marine Committee, till further orders from Congress," and since they on March 12 approved of Barry's purchasing and fitting out a vessel, it may be presumed that the

¹ Letter of November 28, in the Library of Congress, *Washington Papers*, Vol. LXII, No. 7943.

² Letter of November 29, in *ibid.*, No. 7945.

³ This was the famous "Battle of the Kegs," of which an account will be given in the next chapter.

⁴ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, X, 189.

LIFE AND WORKS OF FRANCIS HOPKINSON

trouble was satisfactorily adjusted.¹ On January 22 Hopkinson sent Captain Charles Alexander, who had formerly commanded the frigate "Delaware," to present to General Washington a scheme by which "the Enemy might be annoyed greatly in their Trade and Shipping."² Nothing, however, seems to have come of this project.³

In the spring persistent rumors of a British expedition up the Delaware led Washington again to caution the Navy Board to leave no boats or stores where they might fall into the hands of the enemy. Replying to this letter, the board assured the General that they had already removed all the flat-bottomed boats to a place of safety, and promised to dispose of the stores immediately. A portion of the letter suggests that the board had had some friction with Commodore Hazlewood as well as with Captain Barry:

With respect to the Gallies [*sic*], we are so far from having any Command over them, that we do not know how even a Recommendation from us to Commodore Hazlewood would be received, but if your Excellency will be so good as to write a Line on the Subject to the Commodore; or, which we think would be more effective, to the State Navy Board, we will take Care to convey it safe.⁴

From letters written by the Navy Board to Washington on March 24 and March 31, we learn that they sent part

¹ An interesting account of the Hopkinson-Barry quarrel is published in the *Historical Magazine*, III, 202 ff. In a letter defending himself Barry confessed to Congress that he had called Hopkinson a liar and had said: "Damn you, I don't value you any more than my duty requires." This letter, in the opinion of "R. C. D.," author of the article, was written by John Paul Jones.

² Letter in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City. There is a copy in the Library of Congress, *op. cit.*, Vol. LXVI, No. 8546.

³ For a more complete account of the struggle for the control of the Delaware see Mr. Worthington C. Ford, "The Defences of Philadelphia in 1777," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vols. XVIII-XX.

⁴ Letter of March 1, 1778, in the Library of Congress, *op. cit.*, Vol. LXVIII, No. 8909.

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of their stores to the army at Valley Forge.¹ The board evidently believed the situation to be serious, for on April 8 they ordered another vessel, the "Mercury Packet," to be sunk.² Finally, the board themselves, at the order of the Marine Committee, removed their headquarters to Baltimore.³

The British expedition was no idle rumor, as the event soon proved. Howe, who was preparing to evacuate Philadelphia, conceived an idea that he could furnish a useful object lesson to the Americans by destroying the property of a few of the leading citizens, and so early in May he dispatched a force on a punitive expedition up the Delaware. The arrival of the British at Bordentown is thus described in the *New Jersey Gazette* of May 13:

The Enemy having received intelligence that the Row-Galleys were dismantled, on Friday last formed an expedition up the Delaware, (consisting of the following force, two Row-Galleys, and three other armed vessels, with twenty-four flat-bottomed boats, carrying between six and eight hundred British troops) in order to destroy the continental frigates, and a number of vessels lodged in the different creeks; and to

¹ Letters in *ibid.*, Vol. LXX, No. 9154, and Vol. LXXI, No. 9240. The first of these letters reminds Washington of a letter the board had written on March 16 urging him to take vigorous measures with regard to some naval officers who had been seized by the British while taking provisions under a flag of truce to American prisoners in Philadelphia. The letter of March 16 is in *ibid.*, Vol. LXIX, No. 9065.

² Letter in the *Charles Roberts Collection*, owned by Haverford College. It is addressed to the commander of the packet, Captain John Ashmead, and is signed by Hopkinson alone. Most of the letters of the board were written by Hopkinson and signed by Hopkinson and Wharton.

³ The board had been obliged to flee to Baltimore when the British threatened Philadelphia in 1776. When they were ordered to Maryland a second time, John Nixon resigned. He was replaced on May 9, 1778, by William Smith, of Baltimore. Hopkinson and Wharton complained that their salaries of \$1,500 a year were not sufficient to support their families and to pay such heavy traveling expenses. Congress acknowledged the justice of their complaint, and on May 13 granted them an additional sum of \$600 each. See C. O. Paullin, *The Navy of the American Revolution*, p. 102; *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XI, 484 and 493; and *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 41, Vol. IV, fol. 31.

LIFE AND WORKS OF FRANCIS HOPKINSON

achieve such other exploits as have characterized the British arms, since the commencement of this cruel and unnatural war. Having set fire to the frigates and other vessels, they landed at Bordentown, burnt the dwelling-house of Joseph Borden, Esq. and inhumanely butchered three of the militia, who unfortunately fell into their hands.—The wind and tide being favourable, the country was not alarmed until the frigates were on fire. The next day they proceeded as far up the river as Biles's island, with an intention of visiting this place, but their boats meeting with an unexpected opposition from our artillery, which General Dickinson ordered down for that purpose, and the militia turning out with their usual spirit, upon receiving his orders, vast numbers were quickly assembled; after exchanging a few shot, the enemy thought appearances too unfavourable to proceed any farther.—On their return they landed at Col. Kirkbride's farm and destroyed all his buildings of every kind.—General Dickinson having sent a detachment of militia down the river, to protect the inhabitants from small parties, they made prize of a sloop the enemy had loaded with plunder, with six men on board.

Thus do these people seek Peace; and thus would they conciliate the affections of the Americans!—At the very time that terms are pretended to be offered, and proposals of accommodation, as they say, on the point of being made, fire and sword are carried to our habitations, and these instruments of violence are committing every species of rapine, plunder, and cruelty!

For the destruction of the Borden home Polly Riché, an American girl, who pointed out the residence of the Whig leader to the British soldiers, was partly responsible.¹ While the house, which because of its size and fine furnishings was the show-place of the village, was burning,

the old lady, Mrs. Borden, seated herself in a large chair placed on the opposite side of the street, and there witnessed the destruction of her home and its treasures. A British officer, struck by her appearance, came to her and expressed his sympathy by saying he had a venerated mother of his own of whom she reminded him, and therefore felt deeply grieved for the sad sight before them. Mrs. Borden replied "This is

¹ Mr. J. W. Mills describes her as "a beautiful Tory maiden who had been admired by Benedict Arnold before he married Miss Shippen." See his *Historic Houses of New Jersey*, p. 288.

Von der vor dem 1. August 1861 die Stadt anfallt
 Philadelphia, und die Stadt von dem 1. August 1861
 bis zum 1. September 1861, ist unter der Verwaltung
 der Stadt.



Francis Hopkinson

M. H. Anderson, Sculp.

Dieser Mann war einer der größten Rebellen, aber
 er war auch einer der größten Freunde der Freiheit.
 Er hat die Freiheit und die Freiheit der Freiheit.
 Er hat die Freiheit und die Freiheit der Freiheit.

EWALD'S NOTES IN SMITH'S DISCOURSES

SERVICES DURING THE REVOLUTION

the happiest day of my life, Sir!" "Indeed, Madam, how can this be?" "Because the very fact of your burning the chief houses convinces me that you find it impossible to conquer our people, or you would not so ruthlessly destroy such property."¹

Why the British neglected to burn the house of Hopkinson just across the street is not known, though two traditions seek to account for their carelessness. The first of these, recounted by Barber and Howe,² is as follows:

The British officers dined at the dwelling of Francis Hopkinson, Esq. Himself and family were absent; but an excellent dinner was provided by Miss Mary Comely, their housekeeper, a young lady of about eighteen years of age. While they were there, information was given to her that the soldiers were robbing the dwelling of her mother and grandmother, on the opposite side of the street. . . . She went in, and privately cut a piece from the skirt of one of the soldiers' coats. When the troops were formed, previous to their departure, the thief, through the kind interference of the officers, was identified by the hole in his regimentals. By this means, not only the property of her relations was restored, but some belonging to her neighbors, which she had the art to claim, and afterwards restored to the proper owners.³

Hildeburn's sketch of Hopkinson, published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, gives a much more interesting tradition:

Francis Hopkinson's house was fired at the same time, but escaped in a very curious manner. Captain J. Ewald, one of the best known Hessian officers engaged in the war, was in command of the detachment to which the British had committed the work of destruction, and happening to enter Hopkinson's library was amazed to find it filled with scientific apparatus, in addition to the books that lined its walls. Picking up a volume of Provost Smith's Discourses, he wrote in his mother-tongue under the coat of arms "This man was one of the greatest

¹ This picturesque story is taken from C. R. Hildeburn's sketch of Hopkinson, published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 314-24.

² *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey*, p. 101.

³ Benson J. Lossing, in his *Pictorial Field Book of the American Revolution*, II, 13, states that this story was related to Howe by a person who lived in Bordentown at the time of the invasion.

LIFE AND WORKS OF FRANCIS HOPKINSON

rebels, nevertheless, if we dare to conclude from the Library and mechanical and mathematical instruments, he must have been a very learned man," and in recognizing the philosopher, he forgot the rebel and allowed the neighbors to extinguish the flames before any great damage had been done.¹

We would not willingly spoil a good story or rob the world of a gallant and humane German officer; therefore we are sorry to find that Mr. Hildeburn's explanation of the cause of the British clemency will not stand inspection. The evidence which upsets Mr. Hildeburn's theory is in the very book from which he derived his charming story, a copy of Dr. William Smith's *Discourses on Public Occasions in America*, published in 1762.² On the cover-page of this volume is Hopkinson's bookplate, bearing his name surmounted by the family coat-of-arms. Above the coat-of-arms is a note written in crabbed German script: "Den Autor dieses Büchs habe [ich] das Glück gehabt bey Philadelphia ———³ 24^{ten} Sept: wo er ein schönes Landgüt besasz, kennen gelernt. Er ist rector bey der Universität der Stadt." Below Hopkinson's name is another: "Dieser Mann war einer derer gröszten Rebellen, allein er müsz aüch, wenn ich nach der vorgefundenen, Bibliothek mechanischen ünd mathematischen Instrumenten, schliessen soll, ein sehr gelehrter Mann gewesen seyn." On the title-page are three inscriptions: one in English, one in German, and one in Latin. At the top of the page stands this note in the handwriting of Hopkinson: "The Gift of the Author to Fra^s Hopkinson, Nov. 1764." Below this the German wrote: "I Ewald erbeutet den 16^{ten} December: 1776 in Bordenton."⁴ And this is followed by a

¹ *Op. cit.*, II, 319-20.

² This book is in the collection of Mr. Edward Hopkinson.

³ Word illegible.

⁴ Dr. Alfred E. Lussy, professor of German in the University of Arkansas, has been kind enough to decipher these German inscriptions for me.

Memo: This Book was taken from my Library
by a Hessian Captain when the Hessian Troops
were in Possession of Borden Town in the Year 1776
3. plans and given to L. Brown in Philad. } L. L. -
was returned it to me

Translation of the Inscriptions

"The Author of this Book I had the Happiness
to see near ~~near~~ Philadelphia, where he has
a fine Country Seat. He is Rector of the University
of this City."

Under the Coat of Arms

"This Man was one of the greatest Rebels.
Nevertheless if we dare to conclude from the Library
of mechanical & mathematical Instruments
found with him, he must have been a very
learned man also."

On the Title Page

"J. Ewald plundered on the 16th Dec^r 1776 at
Borden Town."

HOPKINSON'S TRANSLATION OF EWALD'S NOTES

SERVICES DURING THE REVOLUTION

curious memorandum, apparently made by Ewald: "Iure donationis Cuester 1778." On the flyleaf Hopkinson has written the following explanation and translation of the German notes:

Mem^l This Book was taken from my Library by a Hessian Captain when the Hessian Troops were in Possession of Borden Town in the year 1776 & afterwards given to a Person in Philad^a who returned it to me

F— H—

TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

The Author of this Book I had the Happiness to see near Philadelphia, where he has a fine Country Seat. He is Rector of the University of this City.

UNDER THE COAT OF ARMS

This Man was one of the greatest Rebels nevertheless if we dare to conclude from the Library & mechanical & mathematical Instruments found with him, he must have been a very learned Man also.

ON THE TITLE PAGE

I Ewald plundered on the 16th Dec^r 1776 at Borden Town.

The flaw in Mr. Hildeburn's story is the date in Captain Ewald's third note. The Hessian officer took the book, not in May, 1778, but in December, 1776, when the Hessians under Count Donop occupied Bordentown. Therefore Captain Ewald was not responsible for the preservation of Hopkinson's house at the time of the last British raid.¹

The source of Mr. Hildeburn's error is probably the Latin inscription, which Hopkinson unfortunately did not translate. Leaving out the third word, we may translate it "by right of gift, 1778." But what is the significance of this strange word *Cuester*? In trying to solve the puzzle we should note first that the inscriptions on the title-page are three successive records of ownership. The first states that

¹ E. M. Woodward and J. F. Hageman, in their *History of Burlington and Mercer Counties*, pp. 461 ff., call attention to Mr. Hildeburn's mistake.

LIFE AND WORKS OF FRANCIS HOPKINSON

Hopkinson received the book as a gift from Dr. Smith in 1764; the second, that Captain Ewald took it as booty from Hopkinson's library in 1776; and the third, that Hopkinson received it again as a gift in 1778. The word *Cuester*, then, which is evidently a noun, must almost of necessity indicate the time or place at which the book was returned, or the person who returned it.

So far as the author knows, there is no season of the year which in Latin, German, or English bears a name in any way resembling *Cuester*. Mr. Edward Hopkinson has suggested that the word may be Ewald's spelling of "Chester," the place of residence of the person to whom the book was given. This explanation is plausible providing we have not erred in attributing the inscription to the German. Professor John Manly, of the University of Chicago, has called attention to the fact that General Custer, the famous Indian fighter, was descended from a Hessian officer whose name was spelled "Cuester," and has suggested that this officer may have been the person who returned the book. This, of course, is only a conjecture, but it is an interesting and ingenious one.¹

The correction of Mr. Hildeburn's error, however, does no injury to Captain Ewald's reputation for gallantry. Hopkinson, so far as we can learn from his correspondence, never complained of the treatment he received from Donop's troops, but he did complain of the behavior of the second raiding party. In a letter to his wife, written from Baltimore on May 20, he says:

I sincerely condole with M^r and M^{rs} Borden & Uncle Kirkbride for their great Losses—But I know of no better Consolation in such Cases than an Exertion of Patience & a conscious Sense of the Virtue of the

¹ In seeking to unravel this puzzle I have had the patient help of several Latin and German scholars, but none of them has been able to find the solution.

The Gift of the Author to
 Trs. Hopkins, Nov. 1764

DISCOURSES

Received of the Hon^{ble} Secy of the Navy
the sum of \$1000.00 for the purchase of
the ship "Albatross" on the 16th of December 1876 in London.
ton.

PUBLIC OCCASIONS

True Conationis

IN

Cuepfer 1748.

A M E R I C A.

By WILLIAM SMITH, D. D.

Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia.

The SECOND EDITION.

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- IV. * A Discourse from 1 Kings, viii. 13, 27, 57, 60. at the Opening of St. PETER'S CHURCH, Philadelphia, Sept. 4th, 1761.
- V. TWO FUNERAL DISCOURSES.

With an APPENDIX, containing,

- | | |
|---|---|
| I. * A LETTER, by a Clergyman, on the Frontiers of Pennsylvania, on Braddock's Defeat; concerning the Duty of Protestant Ministers in Times of Public Danger. | Science therein; first published as a plan for a College in New-York, in the Year 1753. |
| II. An Address to the Colonies, on opening the Campaign, 1758. | IV. An Account of the College and Academy of Philadelphia. |
| III. * A GENERAL IDEA of the College of MICHIGAN, and the Method of teaching Religion and | V. A CHARGE to the first Graduates in the said College. |
| | VI. A Philosophical Meditation and Address to the Supreme Being. |

L O N D O N:

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TITLE-PAGE OF SMITH'S *DISCOURSES*

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SERVICES DURING THE REVOLUTION

Cause in which we suffer. God knows my dear, how sincerely I feel for the Distress you have suffered & you judge very well in saying I have escaped much Misery by not knowing your Trouble till the Danger was over—Ought Riché's House to stand after the inhuman Conduct of that Monster Polly Riché? . . . The Person who brought me your Letter said it was well known and talked of that Miss Riché had urged the British Officer to burn her Neighbor's House. . . . I am happy in hearing that M^r & M^{rs} Borden bear their Misfortune so heroically. I was fearful lest it might alter their political Principles.¹

On October 22 Hopkinson wrote to Franklin:

I have suffered much by the Invasion of the Goths & Vandals. I was obliged to flee from my House at Borden Town with my Family & leave all my Effects in *Status quo*; the Savages plundered me to their Hearts' content—but I do not repine, as I really esteem it an honour to have suffered in my Country's Cause in Support of the Rights of human Nature and of civil Society.²

After their exodus from Bordentown the Navy Board spent a comparatively quiet spring and summer. A few letters written during their sojourn in Baltimore have been preserved, but they are of slight importance. Two of these letters are requests for supplies: one, addressed to a person whose name is not given, asks that Captain Read, commander of the continental brig "Baltimore," be allowed to use some ammunition owned by the state of Maryland;³ the other is a notice to Samuel and Robert Purviance, ship-builders, informing them that the Navy Board have been directed by the Marine Committee to take over the "public Timber, Mahogany & ca" collected at Baltimore.⁴ On July 24 the board wrote to John Beatty, commissioner of prisoners, requesting a detailed list of all British seamen

¹ Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq. An account of the raid, probably by Hopkinson, appeared in the *Maryland Journal* on May 19.

² Letter in the American Philosophical Society, *Franklin Papers*, XII, 72.

³ Letter of May 25, 1778, owned by Mr. Z. T. Hollingsworth, of Boston.

⁴ Letter of June 2, in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

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who were prisoners, "with Time of Capture and Vessels to which they belonged";¹ and on July 28 they published in the *New Jersey Gazette* an order to "Gaol Keepers" to report the names of all British seamen in captivity.²

In addition to his work on the Navy Board, Hopkinson during the summer completed an Index for the first two volumes of the *Journals of Congress*, which had just been republished. His account was submitted on June 15, but it was not finally settled until December 1, 1779. For this Index, which Herbert Friedenwald, in an article published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*,³ calls "as poor and unsatisfactory an index as ever saw the light of day," Hopkinson received "466 2/3 dollars."⁴

About the middle of August, 1778, Hopkinson resigned his place on the Navy Board⁵ to accept a new position, the nature of which is indicated in the following extracts from the *Journals of the Continental Congress*. On October 3, 1776, it was

Resolved, That five millions of Continental dollars be immediately borrowed for the use of the United States of America, at the annual interest of four percent per annum.

That the faith of the United States be pledged to the lenders for the payment of the sums to be borrowed, and the interest arising thereon, and that certificates be given to the lenders. . . .⁶

That for the convenience of the lenders, a loan office be established in each of the United States and a commissioner, to superintend such

¹ Letter in the *Society Collection*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² See the *New Jersey Archives* (2d series), II, 364.

³ Vol. XXI.

⁴ See the *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XI, 608; XV, 1338.

⁵ William Smith resigned at the same time. On August 19, Congress appointed Nathaniel Falconer and James Searle to fill the vacancies. See C. O. Paullin, *Out-Letters of the Continental Marine Committee*, I, xxvii, and the *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XI, 813.

⁶ The form of the certificate is given here.

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office, be appointed, by the said States respectively, which are to be responsible for the faithful discharge of their duty in the said offices.¹

On July 15, 1778, the following resolution was passed:

Resolved, That a treasurer of loans be appointed, whose duty it shall be to sign loan office certificates and bills of exchange for the payment of interest arising on such certificates which shall be struck by order of Congress; to deliver such certificates and bills agreeably to the orders of the Board of Treasury; to receive such bills of credit as Congress shall, from time to time, order to be sunk and destroyed, to perform such other services, incident to his office, as may hereafter be ordered by Congress or the Board of Treasury.

That the treasurer of loans shall be allowed a salary at the rate of two thousand dollars a year.²

Finally, on July 27, 1778, "Congress proceeded to the election of a Treasurer of Loans; and, the ballots being taken, Mr. Francis Hopkinson was elected."³

With regard to the appointment Hopkinson made the following comment in a letter to Franklin:

The Congress have been pleased to appoint me Treasurer of Loans for the United States with a salary of 2000 Dollars. Could our Money recover its former Value, I should think this a handsome Appointment—as it is, it is a Subsistence.⁴

The depreciated currency and the high taxes were indeed mighty reducers of incomes. For example, on March 4, 1779, the Pennsylvania officials who held commissions under Congress sent to that body a memorial stating that the state assembly were considering a bill which provided that all public officers except those whose salaries were voted by the general assembly of the state should pay a

¹ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, V, 845-46. The money was borrowed for three years in sums of not less than \$300. See A. S. Bolles, *The Financial History of the United States from 1774 to 1789*, chaps. x ff.

² *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XI, 692.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 724.

⁴ Letter of October 22, 1778, in the American Philosophical Society, *Franklin Papers*, XII, 72.

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tax of "5 shillings on every 20 received."¹ On July 12 Hopkinson complained to Congress that his salary, though nominally a "genteel Provision," was "in Reality far insufficient to his bare Support, owing to the Depreciation of the Currency and the exorbitant Prices of all the Necessaries of Life."² On July 22 Congress admitted the justice of this complaint by granting him in addition to his salary a sum for "contingent expenses."³

On July 14, 1779, Joseph Reed, president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, sent Hopkinson the following letter:

DEAR SIR

Allow me to ask you Whether the Office of Judge of the Admiralty in Succession to M^r Ross⁴ will be consistent with your present Post under Congress & otherwise agreeable. The Appointment is £500 per Ann. and £15 in every Cause, besides small Motions &c.

You may write to me in Confidence & believe me

Sir,

Your most Obed. &

Very Hbbl. Serv.

JOS: REED⁵

For the offices of chairman of the Navy Board and treasurer of loans Hopkinson could have had few qualifications besides his natural intelligence and versatility. Therefore he must have welcomed a chance to serve in a position for which he was prepared by training and experience, and for which he no doubt felt some sentiment, because it had been

¹ This memorial, signed by Hopkinson among others, is in the Library of Congress, *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 41, Vol. IV, fol. 51.

² *Ibid.*, fols. 79-82.

³ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XIV, 862.

⁴ Judge George Ross.

⁵ Letter owned by Edward Hopkinson, Esq.; quoted in C. R. Hildeburn's article in the second volume of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*.

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held by his father before him. At any rate, he promptly accepted the President's offer, and on July 17 he appeared before the council, who commissioned him judge of admiralty, after he had taken the oath of allegiance and the oath of office.¹ His feelings on this occasion are best expressed in his own words to Franklin:

I have been honoured with the Post of Judge of the Court of Admiralty for this State & have Reason to believe that I have hitherto given Satisfaction to that Department. As this Office does not interfere with my Business as Treasurer of Loans, I retain both & have Occasion to use much Industry and Attention.—Such is the unhappy State of our Currency that I am but just enabled to support my Family with the two Offices, but my Hope is in future Prospects.²

On October 23, 1779, Hopkinson was nominated in Congress for the offices of auditor-general and commissioner of the Board of Treasury;³ and on November 30 for the office of commissioner of the Board of Admiralty.⁴ To none of these offices was he elected.

The Pennsylvania Assembly on March 8, 1780, passed an act constituting a new Court of Admiralty, in which Hopkinson on April 6 received his second commission as judge.⁵ His first commission had contained no tenure-of-office clause; this fixed the length of his term at seven years. At the same time and by the same act of assembly he be-

¹ See the *Pennsylvania Colonial Records* XII, 50. Hopkinson's commission as judge of admiralty and a certificate stating that he took the oath of allegiance on the above-mentioned date are among the *Hopkinson Official Documents* in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² Letter of September 5, 1779, in the American Philosophical Society, *Franklin Papers*, XV, 170.

³ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XV, 1202.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1330.

⁵ Among the *Hopkinson Official Documents* in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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came a member of a newly organized judicial body called the "High Court of Errors and Appeals."¹

Hopkinson's interest in heraldry, which probably began during his visit to England in 1766-67,² has been mentioned several times in this work. In 1770 he served on a committee appointed to design a seal for the American Philosophical Society,³ and in 1776 he designed or helped to design the Great Seal of New Jersey.⁴ Another work of this sort, not previously mentioned, was a seal for his Alma Mater, which he designed in 1782.

The seal of the College of Philadelphia, adopted some time between 1755 and 1757, has for a design a pyramid of books, the motto "*Sine Moribus Vanæ*" and the words "*Sigillum Academiae Philadel in Pensilvania.*" In November, 1779, the state assembly, because of Dr. Smith's supposed Loyalist sympathies, abrogated the charter of the college and created the University of the State of Pennsylvania,⁵ of which Dr. John Ewing was appointed provost. Hopkinson, who had been appointed a trustee of the college in 1778, was retained on the board of the university.

On April 5, 1780, this board adopted as the seal of the new university the "Lesser Seal of the State," which was

¹ This court was made up of the president of the Supreme Executive Council of the state, the judges of the Supreme Court, the judge of admiralty, and three other persons "of known integrity and ability." See Burton A. Konkle, *The Life and Times of Thomas Smith*, pp. 124-26.

² See pp. 134 and 140.

³ See p. 174.

⁴ See p. 217.

⁵ See J. C. Chamberlain, *The University of Pennsylvania*, I, 289. Hopkinson evidently was not in sympathy with the change. In the collection of Mr. Edward Hopkinson is a skit ridiculing a pompous newspaper account of commencement at the new university. "When the Institution was only a College," said Hopkinson, "we could have the Narrative of its annual Solemnities communicated in common & intelligible Language: but . . . since the Legislature [have] in its great Wisdom & Justice dubb'd it a University, something more than plain Common-Sense must be attempted."

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used until December 23, 1782. On that date, according to the minutes of the board, the following action was taken:

The Hon'ble Mr. Hopkinson, a member of the Board, having laid before the Board an essay of a seal for the corporation of the University, the same was maturely considered and unanimously adopted.

The description is as follows, viz.:

The seal to be 2 inches in diameter; the Device a front view of the Orrery belonging to the University, invented and made by David Rittenhouse, esq. Above the Orrery a Star of the first magnitude in full radiance being one of the thirteen stars in the arms of the United States, representing the State of Pennsylvania. The inscription *Sigillum Universitatis Pennsylvaniensis*.

RESOLVED, That Mr. Hopkinson be requested to have the above engraved, and to superintend the execution thereof; and that the Treasurer be directed to pay the expense attending the same.

RESOLVED, That the Treasurer be authorized and directed to sell the seal of the late college and Academy, now University, for so much money as the same is reasonably worth.

On February 6, 1783, "The Hon'ble Mr. Hopkinson delivered to the Board the new seal of the corporation, the same being executed agreeably to the directions of the Board on the 23rd of December last."

This seal was in use by the University of the State of Pennsylvania from 1782 to 1791, when that institution was consolidated with the College of Philadelphia to form the University of Pennsylvania.¹ The University of Pennsylvania used the "Orrery Seal" from 1791 up to about 1812,

¹ After the abrogation of the college charter, in 1779, Dr. Smith went to Chestertown, Md., where he founded Washington College. His chief interest, however, was still in the Philadelphia institution; therefore, as soon as the war came to an end, he began a fight to have the Act of 1779 repealed. The struggle began in 1784, but it was not until March 6, 1789, that the charter, estates, and franchises of the old institution were restored. Dr. Smith then returned to Philadelphia and reopened the college, which at once became a formidable rival of the University of the State of Pennsylvania. When it became evident that the struggle would be fatal to both college and university, the factions were wise enough to unite the institutions under the name of the University of Pennsylvania, of which Dr. John Ewing became the first provost in 1791.

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and from 1840 to 1848. The seal of the College of Philadelphia, or a modification of it, was used from 1812 to 1840, and again from 1848 to 1899, when the present seal was adopted.¹

The story of Hopkinson's "Orrery Seal" is introduced here because of its connection with what is to follow. In the summer of 1917 the author of this work discovered in the Library of Congress some unpublished correspondence between Francis Hopkinson and the Continental Congress which throws light on a problem that so far has baffled historians, though it has inspired pseudo-historians to the production of much sentimental fiction.

On May 25, 1780, Hopkinson sent to the Board of Admiralty, acting under Congress, the following letter:

GENTLEMEN:

It is with great Pleasure that I understand that my last Device of a Seal for the Board of Admiralty has met with your Honours' Approbation. I have with great Readiness, upon several Occasions exerted my small Abilities in this Way for the public Service; &, as I flatter myself, to the Satisfaction of those I wish'd to please, viz^t

The Flag of the United States of America
7 Devices for the Continental Currency
A Seal for the Board of Treasury
Ornaments, Devices & Checks for the new
Bills of Exchange in Spain & Holland
A Seal for the Ship Papers of the United States
A Seal for the Board of Admiralty
The Borders, Ornaments & Checks for the new
Continental Currency now in the Press,—a
Work of considerable Length
A Great Seal for the United States of America,
with a Reverse.—

¹ Provost Emeritus Edgar F. Smith told me in 1923 that Hopkinson was the designer of one of the university seals. Mr. Edward M. Mumford, secretary of the university, secured for me from the minutes of the Board of Trustees the information given above.

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For these Services I have as yet made no Charge, nor received any Recompense. I now submit it to your Honours' Consideration, whether a Quarter Cask of the public Wine will not be a proper & a reasonable Reward for these Labours of Fancy and a suitable Encouragement to future Exertions of a like Nature.

I sincerely hope your Honours will be of this Opinion & am with great Respect

Gentlemen

Your very humble Serv^t

FRA^s HOPKINSON^r

On May 26 John Brown, the secretary of the Board of Admiralty, sent Hopkinson's letter to the President of Congress, with this self-explanatory note: "I am ordered to enclose to your Excellency a letter addressed to the Board by Francis Hopkinson Esquire which the Board request may be laid before Congress."² In Congress, according to indorsements on the back of Brown's note, Hopkinson's letter was read and referred to the Board of Treasury, who on June 5 directed that he "state his account and leave it with the Auditor."

Hopkinson lost no time in following these instructions, for on June 6 he presented to Congress this interesting bill:

D^r The United States of America to Francis Hopkinson
To sundry Devices, Drawings, Mottos &c^a for the public use viz^t
The great Naval Flag of the United States
Seven Devices with Mottos for former Emissions
of the Continental Currency
The Seal of the Board of Admiralty
A Seal for the Shipping Papers of the U: S:
Seal of the Board of Treasury
Ornaments, Borders & Checks for the Loan
Office Certificates

¹ Library of Congress, *Papers of The Continental Congress*, No. 136, Vol. IV, fol. 685.

² *Ibid.*, No. 37, fol. 243.

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Ditto for the Bills of Exchange on Spain &
Holland
Ditto for the Continental Currency now in the
Press
The Great Seal of the United States with a
Reverse
Devices & Ornaments for the Commissions in the
Navy of the United States now in Hand & not
completed

PHILAD^a June 6^h 1780

£2700^r

On receiving Hopkinson's itemized bill Congress at once referred it to James Milligan, the auditor-general, who on the same day registered it in his office records² and forwarded it to the Commissioners of the Chamber of Accounts. Six days later, on June 12, they returned it to him with this statement:

THE COMMISSIONERS REPORT

That they have examined the Account of Francis Hopkinson, Esq^r, for sundry Devices, Drawings, Mottos & c^a for Public Use, amounting to Seven thousand two hundred Dollars³ and are of the Opinion that the Charge is reasonable and ought to be paid.⁴

On June 13, the Auditor-General sent the papers to the Board of Treasury, with this report of his own:

I do certify to the Commissioners of the Board of Treasury that I have Examined the Nature of the Account of Francis Hopkinson Esq^r mentioned in the within Report of the Commissioners of the Chamber of Accounts dated the 12th inst. and have passed the same and now present it for allowance.⁵

² Library of Congress, *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 136, Vol. IV, fol. 671.

³ An indorsement on the bill states that it was "Registered in the Auditor General's Office y^e 6^h June 1780 in Book A, page 4."

⁴ The Continental dollar was worth 90d. See Mr. J. C. Fitzpatrick, *George Washington's Accounts*, p. 141.

⁵ Library of Congress, *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 136, Vol. IV, fol. 675.

⁵ *Ibid.*

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To close his account Hopkinson now had nothing to do but to collect from the Board of Treasury the twenty-seven hundred pounds called for in his bill. In attempting to do this, however, he met with difficulties, for

The Board taking notice that the said Commissioners in the case had neglected to require Vouchers to support the charges conformable to the Ordinance of the 30th of July, 1779, remanded the said account on the 24th of June to the Auditor General to be reconsidered, and with it sent another account N^o 4 & 5 which the said Treasurer of Loans desired by his letter N^o 6 to be substituted in the room of the afore-said account.¹

“Account N^o 4” mentioned in the foregoing report reads as follows:

D^r The United States to Francis Hopkinson

To sundry Drawings & Devices viz^t

The Naval Flag of the United States.....	£ 9-0-0
Designs with Mottos for Currency.....	7-0-0
Seal of the Board of Treasury.....	3-0-0
D ^o of the Board of Admiralty.....	3-0-0
D ^o for Shipping Papers.....	3-0-0
Devices & Checks for Certificates.....	2-0-0
D ^o for Bills of Exch ^e	3-0-0
D ^o for the New Currency in the Press....	5-0-0
The Great Seal of the States	
with a Reverse.....	10-0-0
	<hr/>
	£45-0-0
	<hr/>

£45 in hard money at

60 for One is..... £27-0-0²

Immediately after he had presented the bill, Hopkinson sent the Board of Treasury the following communication, which is referred to in the report as “letter N^o 6”:

Agreeable to the Expectations of the Board I this Morning exhibited an Account for certain Devices &c in which a Charge was as-

¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 665. This report was sent to Congress on October 27, 1780; it contains, in addition to the paragraph quoted here, a history of the case and the final recommendation of the board.

² *Ibid.*, fol. 673.

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signed to each particular Service—This Charge however was made in hard Money to be computed at 60 for One in Continental.

I have since recollected that your Honours might possibly object to the passing an Account in that Form, & therefore beg Leave to withdraw said Acc^t and substitute the enclosed in its Place. I am sorry to give the Board so much Trouble about a Matter of so small Importance, but hope the Account as now exhibited will be liable to no Objections for Want of Form.¹

Hopkinson's final account ("N^o 5"), which accompanied this letter, is given below:

D ^r The United States to Francis Hopkinson	
To sundry Drawings & Devices viz ^t	
The Naval Flag of the States.....	£ 540.0.0
7 Devices for the Currency.....	420.0.0
Seal of the Board of Treasury.....	180.0.0
Ditto—Board of Admiralty.....	180.0.0
Ditto for Shipping Papers.....	180.0.0
Checks & Devices for Certificates.....	120.0.0
Ditto for Bills of Exchange.....	180.0.0
Ditto for the New Currency now in the Press.....	300.0.0
The Great Seal of the States with a Reverse	600.0.0
	<hr/>
	£2700.0.0 ²

This account, as has already been shown, was sent by the Board of Treasury to the Auditor-General on June 24. Indorsements on the back of the bill show that it was registered in the Auditor-General's office and referred to the Commissioners of Accounts on June 28. On June 29 it was returned to the Auditor-General, with this report:

THE COMMISSIONERS

Report that they have examined the account of Francis Hopkinson, Esquire referred to them by the Auditor General the 28th Instant and find that a former report was made thereon the 12th Instant, and as the

¹ Library of Congress, *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 136, Vol. IV, fol. 674 $\frac{1}{2}$. The letter and both accounts are dated June 24, 1780.

² *Ibid.*, fol. 681.

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aforesaid report hath not been recommitted they are of opinion it is out of their power to take the matter up again untill [*sic*] that is complied with.¹

On July 1 the Auditor-General sent all the correspondence back to the Board of Treasury, after writing the following note below the report of the Commissioners of Accounts: "As the within Report appears to be respecting form only, I beg leave to submit it entirely to the consideration of the Commissioners of the Board of Treasury."

On August 4, according to another memorandum on this same document, the Board of Treasury started Hopkinson's account on another round of the department, by referring it back to the Auditor-General, "with special instructions." He once more passed it on to the Commissioners of Accounts, who on August 7 reported:

That by an Order of the Board of Treasury of the 4th, Inst: they have revised and examined the account of Francis Hopkinson, and find there is due to him for his Services as p^r Account and their report of the 12th, and 29th June, the sum of Seven thousand Two hundred Dollars.²

From the Chamber of Accounts the correspondence went back to the Auditor-General, who on the same day returned the account to the Board of Treasury, after adding this report:

I do certify to the Commissioners of the Board of Treasury that I have Reexamined the Nature of the Account of Francis Hopkinson Esq^r mentioned in the within Report of the Commissioners of the Chamber of Accounts dated this day and have passed the same and present it for allowance.

By this time the Board of Treasury had apparently exhausted their ingenuity in devising pretexts for referring Hopkinson's account to other officers of the department,

¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 677.

² *Ibid.*, fol. 683. The ratio of pounds to dollars was 3:8.

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and so they filed the correspondence away and paid no more attention to it for two months and a half. Meanwhile, the various difficulties that Hopkinson had encountered in trying to have his account settled had so exasperated him that on June 26, two days after he had presented his final bill, he wrote to Charles Lee, secretary of the Board of Treasury, a letter beginning as follows:

SIR,

Notwithstanding your positive Denial, on Saturday last, of having received from me any other Account to present to the Board of Treasury, excepting the one on your File which you then exhibited, & which you knew was not satisfactory to the Board, I have the fullest Proof that you did receive from me, a Fortnight before, another Account stated agreeable to the Will of the Board, & which you thought proper to suppress whereby my Business has been delayed. I can assign no other motive for such Conduct but a design to injure me.¹

The rest of the letter is badly torn, but enough remains to inform the reader that Hopkinson threatened to send a report to Congress in case Lee did not give a satisfactory explanation of his conduct.

On June 27 Hopkinson added to the foregoing letter a memorandum that Mr. Lee had exonerated himself, but this statement he later retracted by scratching out the memorandum, and by sending to Congress on July 6 a list of charges against the Board of Treasury. These charges, five in number, may be summarized as follows: (1) refusal to co-operate with other officers of the government, (2) neglect and loss of public papers, (3) carelessness in the keeping of accounts, (4) the obstruction of public business by their insistence on useless technicalities, and (5) the changing of reports made to them. Under the second

¹ A copy of this letter, in Hopkinson's handwriting, is among the papers of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

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charge he made this statement with regard to his own account:

I had an Account lying before the Board for certain Services done. This Account went thro every Objection as to Form that Fancy could suggest. At length one only way of modelling the Account remained. This was done & the Account (as can be proved) laid on the Temporary Table. After a Fortnight's Delay on Enquiry made, the Account had never been seen, it was mislaid—it was lost. The Deficiency was supplied—but alas too late, the whole Affair had been crossed out for want of Form, & the Fate of my Account yet remains undetermined.¹

On receiving Hopkinson's complaint, Congress appointed a committee to investigate the quarrel. This committee on August 7 requested all the officers of the Treasury Department to appear before them on the following Thursday to discuss the charges. The Commissioners of the Chamber of Accounts, the Auditor-General, the Treasurer, the Paymaster-General, and the Treasurer of Loans appeared at the time appointed, but the Board of Treasury ignored the summons. After examining the officers who were present, the committee prepared a report, which they sent to Congress on August 25. This report, after giving an account of the unsuccessful attempt of the committee to induce the Board of Treasury to appear before them, continues:

They [the committee] find that there is great uneasiness in that department, and that the business is likely to suffer great prejudice therefrom, which is chiefly to be attributed to the following causes, viz.

That the Board of Treasury have prohibited all access to themselves between the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon; even by the officers of the department, with whom they transact the most trivial affairs in writing only, not suffering the Commissioners of the Chambers to speak to them. That some time ago, when the Treasurer of Loans came upon public business to the door of the room where the Treasury

¹ A copy of this letter is in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

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Board sits, between the hours of nine and twelve, Mr Foreman shut the door in his face, and has also treated him with unmerited indignity on other occasions.

That the orders issued by the Board have been often incorrect and sometimes unintelligible and impracticable to be executed, and that in particular one standing order to the Treasurer not to pay money on the Warrants of Congress, without the special direction of the Board, is a dangerous usurpation of power, opens a door to partialities & resentments, and has a tendency to destroy the honor & credit of the United States.

That the behavior in office of Mess^{rs} Forman and Gibson, two of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and of Mr Lee, Secretary of the Board to ——¹ in that department, and also to others, who have frequent business to transact with the Board, is very reprehensible, extremely disgusting, and has destroyed all friendly communication of Counsels, and harmony in the Execution of Public Affairs.²

At the end of their report the committee made a number of recommendations, the most important of which was that Foreman, Gibson, and Lee be dismissed from the Board of Treasury.

Congress heard this report on September 7, and two days later sent it back to the committee for further consideration. The committee then made another investigation, the results of which they reported on November 24. In the meantime the Board of Treasury were forced by the pressure brought to bear on them to render a decision on Hopkinson's account, which they sent to Congress on October 27. This report, after giving a history of the case from the beginning, states that on receiving the last report of the Commissioners of Accounts,

The Board proceeded to consider the said account, and on the 12th Instant rejected it for want of Vouchers to support the Charges.

The Board beg leave further to observe that they should not have

¹ Manuscript torn.

² Library of Congress, *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 19, Vol. III, fols. 177-78.

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thought themselves authorized to allow the said account, had the Treasurer of Loans produced vouchers of his having been employed about the several matters he charges for.

1st Because it is within the knowledge of one of the Members of the Board, that with respect to the charges of the works incidental to the Treasury, the said Francis Hopkinson was not the only person consulted on those exhibitions of Fancy, and therefore cannot claim the sole merit of them, and is not entitled in this respect to the full sum charged.

2^{dly} Because the Board are of opinion the public is entitled to these little assistances given by Gentlemen who enjoy a very considerable Salary under Congress without Fee or further reward; and lastly because it appears to the Board by a relation of a conversation that passed between the said Treasurer of Loans and one of the Members of the Board just after the said Treasurer had wrote to the Admiralty letter N^o 1, that he viewed the Success of his application for the wine as very uncertain, and considered in the light of a compliment due him for these works of Fancy.¹

After having their report recommitted, the committee of Congress called another meeting of the contending parties, at which Forman and Gibson condescended to appear. Among the papers owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are some rough minutes jotted down during the investigation. These minutes are so hastily written and so badly worn as to be almost illegible, and so fragmentary in their nature that much of their contents is unintelligible, but they nevertheless throw some light on the problem under investigation. According to these minutes, the charges made against the board by the other officers of the department were (1) neglect of duty, (2) indolence, (3) inattention to the public interest, (4) incapacity, and (5) partiality. In defending themselves against the last charge, the board discussed the complaint of Hopkinson. The most remarkable thing about this part of the docu-

¹ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XVIII, 983-84.

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ment is that it shows that the board did not deny that Hopkinson had made the various devices, but defended their action in refusing to honor his bill by calling attention to the fact that his account had not been accompanied by vouchers stating that he had been employed by Congress to do the work for which he asked pay:

Do not they [apparently the Commissioners of Accounts] require Certificates and Vouchers from Printers, Tradesmen & C to establish their Charges? . . . Why then are these Requisites dispensed with in the Honourable Mr. Hopkinson's Case?

After completing their investigation the committee on November 24 sent to Congress the following report:

The Committee to whom the Report on the Letter of Francis Hopkinson Esq^r, Treasurer of Loans, was recommitted begs leave to report:

That upon the recommitment Mess^{rs} Forman & Gibson, two of the Commiss^{rs} of the Treasury, attended the summons of your Committee.

That your Committee has met with great difficulties in the course of this Enquiry; the Commiss^{rs} of the Treasury have in sundry instances attempted to dictate to them the manner in which the Enquiry should be made, which has laid your Committee under the Necessity of repeatedly enjoining the said Commiss^{rs} to forbear that attempt & to permit the Comm^{tee} to exercise their own Judgment in the case referred to them.

That great Jealousies & Animositities have arisen amongst the Officers of the Treasury Department from a variety of Orders & Regulations, & from the manner in which these orders have been executed; & the Jealousies & Animositities have considerably increased the difficulties of your Committee.

That it appears on examination, those orders have passed when a Majority of the Board consisted of Members of Congress, & therefore the Commiss^{rs} of the Treasury may be considered as responsible, only for the Execution of those Orders so far as comes within their particular duties.

That it is not within the duty of this Committee to determine upon the Propriety or Impropriety of Orders & Regulations adopted by any

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other Committee of Congress, but your Committee is clearly of Opinion that it requires much more delicacy & attention than were used on the Occasion to carry these orders into execution, without giving just cause of Offense.

That the several errors in Acc^{ts} which have been laid before your Committee by the Treasurer of Loans & the Commiss^{rs} of the Treasury are all of such a nature as might have been readily adjusted, without the least injury to the Public, had not the Demon of Discord pervaded the whole Department.

That it is the Opinion of your Committee that the Treasury should be under the Direction of a single Officer, accountable to Congress for the Conduct of his Department, but that the arrangement of the Executive Departments having been referred to a special Committee, it is not within the duty of this Committee to propose an Arrangement for this purpose.¹

It will be noted that the final report of the investigating committee contained no recommendation with regard to Hopkinson's account, which remained unsettled until August 23, 1781, when Congress passed a resolution "That the report relative to the fancy-work of F. Hopkinson ought not to be acted on."²

Hopkinson meanwhile grew weary of the fight, and on July 23 sent the following letter to the President of Congress:

DEAR SIR,

It is with sincere Concern that I reflect on the unhappy Differences that have too long subsisted between some Members of the Honourable Board of Treasury and myself in our official Capacities; & that those Differences having already obtruded on the Notice of Congress are now likely to force themselves on the Attention of the Financier General; in the Progress of whose arduous and important Undertaking no Obstacles ought to occur.

¹ Library of Congress, *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 19, Vol. III, fol. 179.

² *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XXI, 899. The report referred to was the report submitted by the Board of Treasury on October 27, 1780.

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I am fully sensible that public Business can never prosper in the Hands of Officers nearly connected, when that confidential Harmony, which alone can give Vigor to their Proceedings is wanting.

With a View, therefore, to the public Service as well as to my own Peace of Mind, I beg leave to resign my Office of Treasurer of Loans, & pray that Congress may accept this my Resignation.

In reviewing my Conduct as an Officer of Congress, I have, without vain boasting, the solid Satisfaction to find that I have discharged the Duties of my Department with Fidelity, Diligence and Care. And I shall ever esteem it the highest Honour of my Life that I have been instrumental in first announcing to the World the Freedom of my Country, and afterwards endeavouring to support that Freedom to the best of my Abilities in several important Stations: nor shall those Endeavors cease but with Life.

I have the Honour to be, with all possible Respect,
Your Excellency's
Most faithful
& Most obedient
humble Servant
FRA^s HOPKINSON
Treas^r of Loans^t

On July 24 Robert Morris, financier-general, sent to the President of Congress this comment on Hopkinson's resignation:

This morning I received a letter from the Treasurer of Loans submitting to my opinion the enclosed letter to your Excellency. As it appears to me that the office itself may soon become unnecessary, and as the dispute with the Treasury tends very much to delay Business, I cannot but approve of Mr. Hopkinson's Resignation. At the same time I will take the Liberty to observe that I believe him to be a Gentleman of unblemished Honour & Integrity, a faithful & attentive Servant of the Public and steadily attached to the American Cause. These, Sir, are claims which will probably draw the notice and attention of Congress on any favourable occasion.²

¹ Library of Congress, *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 78, Vol. XII, fol. 171.

² *Ibid.*, No. 133, Vol. I, fol. 89.

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Hopkinson's resignation was accepted on July 24.¹ Forman, one of his chief opponents on the Board of Treasury, resigned on the same day.²

To anyone who has followed the history of Hopkinson's "fancy-work" account from its presentation to its rejection, several facts are clearly evident: The Board of Admiralty, by forwarding Hopkinson's original statement to Congress, indicated that they considered it worthy of consideration. The Commissioners of Accounts and the Auditor-General showed by their action that they not only believed that Hopkinson had prepared the designs in question, but that they considered his charge a reasonable one. The Board of Treasury, on the other hand, manifested from the beginning a decided unwillingness to allow Hopkinson's claim. They employed many ingenious devices to delay the settlement of his account, and finally submitted a report which influenced Congress to reject his bill. It should be remembered, however, that during the time Hopkinson's account was under consideration the Board of Treasury were carrying on with the other officers of the department a relentless war in which the Hopkinson affair was only a minor engagement. Yet this board, who were so hostile to Hopkinson that they shut the door in his face when he came to see them on official business, never disputed the fact that he had made the designs in question, but rejected his account because it was not accompanied by the necessary vouchers and because they believed that a government official should not try to collect pay for work of this kind. Indeed, the fact that Hopkinson submitted a bill is in itself the very strongest evidence that he made the designs. Hopkinson was a man of unusual practical sense.

¹ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XXI, 783.

² *Ibid.*, p. 784.

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No man of sense would send a bill for work he had never done to a body of intelligent men, many of whom were already familiar with the facts of the case, and all of whom were able to inform themselves immediately with regard to the veracity of his statements.

It is, then, practically certain that Francis Hopkinson submitted to Congress "sundry drawings, devices, and mottoes," some of which were accepted. This fact is interesting, and especially so since two items in his account raise the question whether or not he designed the flag and seal that were finally adopted as the emblems of the United States.

With regard to the former, reliable and adequate information may be obtained from *The History of the Seal of the United States*,¹ by the late Gailliard Hunt, chief of the division of manuscripts in the Library of Congress. This monograph shows conclusively that the Great Seal was not adopted until June 20, 1782, two years after Hopkinson presented his bill, and that the designers of this seal were Charles Thomson and William Barton. It is known, however, that Du Simitière, John Adams, Jefferson, Franklin, and others proposed devices for the Great Seal; therefore Hopkinson's assertion that he also prepared a device need occasion no surprise.

About the origin of the American flag we lack the definite and reliable information that we have about the origin of the Great Seal. Numerous writers have discussed the subject, but since most of them were more sentimental than scholarly, the chief result of their labors has been the wide dissemination of a romantic legend. The name of the designer has never been discovered, and even the source of the design is a matter of dispute.

¹ Published by the State Department in 1909.

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Whoever may have been the designer of the national ensign, the evolution of the design itself can be pretty definitely traced. Before the Revolution the English Colonies, of course, used the flag of the mother-country, but when the Americans rose in armed rebellion against England, the use of the English flag in the army or navy became confusing and dangerous. Accordingly, other flags, such as the "pine-tree flag," the "Bunker Hill flag," and the "rattlesnake flag," were used during the early days of the war. Of all the flags designed at this time the one that came nearest to being a national banner was the flag hoisted by John Paul Jones on the "Alfred" on December 3, 1775, and by Washington at Cambridge on January 2, 1776. This flag, variously known as the "first navy ensign," the "Cambridge flag," and the "first national ensign," had thirteen stripes, probably copied from the "merchant ensign" or "striped flag" already in use among the American privateers, and a blue canton emblazoned with the crosses of St. Andrew and St. George, as in the British flag.

When the Colonies in 1776 declared themselves independent, any further use of the British flag became obviously improper, and the adoption of a national ensign necessary. It was not, however, until nearly a year later that Congress, on June 14, 1777, "*Resolved*, That the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation."¹ It is evident that the new ensign was identical with the Cambridge flag, with the exception that the canton was emblazoned with thirteen stars instead of the crosses of St. Andrew and St. George. Even in this detail, which may have been bor-

¹ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, VIII, 464.

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rowed from the Colonial banner of Rhode Island, the resemblance was not entirely lost, for the stars were arranged in rows of 3, 2, 3, 2, 3, thus outlining the crosses that they had replaced.¹

The *Journals of the Continental Congress* contain no specific information about the origin of the flag resolution, but we have reason to believe that it came from someone connected with the navy. Since the colors are a part of the necessary equipment of a ship, it seems probable that the naval branch of the service would be the first to feel the need of a new ensign and to take steps to secure one. That the resolution came from this department is very strongly indicated by the fact that in the *Journals* it is preceded by two and followed by three resolutions reported by the Marine Committee. When we remember that Francis Hopkinson, who three years later asserted that he had designed the flag of the United States, was on June 14, 1777, chairman of the Navy Board, acting under the Marine Committee, the fact that the flag resolution appears in the midst of Marine Committee resolutions becomes most significant.²

The language of Hopkinson's various statements fixes beyond question the identity of the flag that he designed, and suggests very strongly the circumstances that led him to design it. In his letter of May 25 he called it "the Flag of the United States of America"; in his bill of June 6, "the

¹ For this information about the arrangement of the stars I am indebted to Commander Byron McCandless, U.S.N.

² The important fact that the flag resolution is sandwiched between resolutions originating from the Marine Committee was pointed out to me by Commander Byron McCandless, U.S.N., in a reply to letters of my own calling his attention to Hopkinson's claim. In his "The Story of the American Flag," published in the *National Geographic Magazine* in October, 1917, Commander McCandless refers to Hopkinson's connection with the flag as "more authentic" than others he has mentioned, but he does not inform his readers how he learned of Hopkinson's connection.



Francis Hopkinson

H. Davidson, Sculp.

THE HOPKINSON COAT-OF-ARMS

ALLEGHENY COLLEGE LIBRARY

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great Naval Flag of the United States"; and in his two bills of June 24, "the Naval Flag of the United States" and "the Naval Flag of the States." The first name shows that the national ensign is meant, while the others imply that the flag was first designed for the use of the American navy.

Two other facts, insignificant in themselves, strongly support the evidence that has been presented. Hopkinson's letter to the Board of Admiralty, written on May 25, 1780, begins with this sentence: "It is with great Pleasure that I understand that my last Device of a Seal for the Board of Admiralty has met with your Honours' Approbation." This seal, which was adopted on May 4, 1780, has thirteen stripes.¹ There is a tradition that on the original design for the national ensign the stars had six points, and that five-pointed stars were later substituted. On the Hopkinson coat-of-arms are three six-pointed stars.²

In the evidence that has been presented in the preceding pages three incontrovertible facts stand out. Three years after the adoption of the national ensign Francis Hopkinson asserted in writing that he had designed it. His assertion was made to a group of men, some of whom had been present when the flag was adopted and all of whom could easily verify or disprove his statement. Though the Board of Treasury who blocked his attempts to obtain pay for his services were his implacable enemies, they never denied that he had made the devices. In the hundred and forty-odd years that have elapsed since the Resolution of 1777 was adopted, no evidence has come to light to discredit his assertion that he himself designed "the Flag of the United States of America."

While Hopkinson's quarrel with the Board of Treasury

¹ Gailliard Hunt, *The History of the Seal of the United States*, p. 43.

² Mr. Edward Hopkinson first called my attention to this fact.

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was making his position as treasurer of loans untenable, he was having even more serious trouble as judge of the admiralty. This trouble began on October 30, 1780, when he sent to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania a request that they remove from office Matthew Clarkson, the state marshal, whom he charged with neglect of duty, contempt of court, the assumption of too much authority, refusing to obey a writ of the court, and failing to render the proper accounts. Hopkinson's request was granted, but Clarkson and his friends soon retaliated by presenting to the state assembly this formidable list of charges against the Judge of Admiralty:

1. That having a power by law to appoint an agent for unrepresented shares belonging to absent seamen, and others, he offered and proposed to appoint Mr. Blair M'Clenachan, for a number of such shares belonging to seamen, who had sailed on board the privateer "Holker" upon the condition, that he the said Blair M'Clenachan would make him a present of a suit of cloaths; and, this condition not being complied with, he appointed others in his stead.

2. Receiving presents from persons interested in the condemnation of prizes, previous to their condemnation; particularly a cask of wine on board the prize brigantine "Gloucester", presented to him by the captors before any condemnation, sale or distribution.

3. Conniving at, and encouraging the sale of prizes before condemnation, contrary to law, and maliciously charging the Marshall with the crime of such conduct before the honourable the Supreme Executive Council; in the instance of the prize ship "Charlotte".

4. Issuing a writ of sale, of the cargo of a prize, declaring in the same writ that it was testified to him, that the same cargo was in danger of waste, spoil, and damage, when in fact and in truth no such testimony or return was ever given, or made to him;—in the instance of the cargo of the prize ship "Albion".¹

¹ The account of Hopkinson's trial given here is derived from Edmund Hogan, *The Pennsylvania State Trials*, and the *Journals of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, November 22–December 26, 1780.

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These charges were presented on November 22, and on November 27 were referred to a committee of three—"Mr. Campbell, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Galbraith"—who were instructed to confer with the Supreme Executive Council of the state. On November 30, at Hopkinson's request, a copy of the charges was given to him; and on the next day the House heard a memorial from him "that as certain charges have been exhibited against him for misconduct in office, he therefore prays that he may not be suffered to be long under censure, but that a hearing or a trial, in the manner the House may judge most eligible, may be directed as soon as possible." Thereupon it was resolved that the House, sitting as a committee of the whole, should consider the charges, and that the parties should be notified to attend with their respective witnesses. On December 2, upon reconsideration, it was resolved that no witnesses for the defense should be heard at the preliminary proceedings, and Hopkinson was so notified.

Accordingly, on the day appointed, December 6, the House proceeded to hear evidence in support of the charges. Hopkinson was present, but he was not allowed to produce witnesses or to take any part in the proceedings, except to acknowledge that certain papers presented were in his handwriting. After the witnesses had given their testimony against Hopkinson, it was "resolved that the 1st and 4th of the said charges against said judge appear to be supported by legal evidence (the 4th to be called the 2nd)," but that charges 2 and 3 "are not supported by the evidence before the House." It was further ordered that charges 1 and 4 be referred to a committee of three, "Mr. Campbell, Mr. J. Smith, and Mr. Galbraith to prepare and report to the House proper articles of impeachment." On

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December 8, after this committee had reported, it was resolved that Hopkinson be impeached for the crimes and misdemeanors in charges 1 and 2 (originally 4).

On December 18, an additional charge was presented in the form of a memorial from Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, which asserted that Hopkinson as judge of the admiralty had collected illegal fees arising out of the capture of the brig "Recovery." Thereupon it was ordered that

a further Article of Impeachment, for exacting and receiving illegal fees [be drawn] against Francis Hopkinson Esq., Judge of the Court of Admiralty of the State of Pennsylvania, in addition to the former two exhibited to the Supreme Executive Council the 12th instant, by the Representatives of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met.

Accordingly, the following articles of impeachment were presented by the committee to the Supreme Executive Council:

First. That having a power by law to appoint an agent for unrepresented shares of prizes, belonging to absent seamen, and others, he, the said Francis Hopkinson, in a conversation with the late Marshall, Matthew Clarkson, offered and proposed to appoint Blair M'Clenachan, agent for a number of such shares belonging to seamen who had sailed on board the privateer "Holker," upon condition that he, the said Blair M'Clenachan, would make a present of a suit of cloaths; and, this condition not being complied with, he appointed others in his stead.

Secondly. That he, the said Francis Hopkinson, issued a writ for the sale of the cargo of a prize declaring in the same writ, that it was testified to him, that the same cargo was in great danger of waste, spoil and damage, when in fact and in truth, no such testimony or return was ever given or made to him, in the instance of the cargo of the prize ship "Albion."

Thirdly. [After stating that the fees of the Judge of Admiralty are regulated by an act of Assembly, the article proceeds:] Nevertheless he, the said Francis Hopkinson, Esq. Judge of the Court of Admiralty, in contempt of the Act of Assembly aforesaid, did exact and receive, as

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and for his fees, as Judge of the Court of Admiralty aforesaid the sum of thirteen hundred pounds in the case of the Brigantine "Recovery," Job Pray, libellant, and Robert Morris,¹ claimant, of the burthen of about eighty tons, being a larger sum than by law he ought to have received.²

At the proceedings before the council, which consisted of "His Excellency Joseph Reed, President; the Honorable William Moore, Vice President; Mr. Lacey; Mr. Gardner; Mr. James Read; Mr. Potter; and Mr. Piper," the Judge was represented by James Wilson and Jared Ingersoll. Witnesses for the prosecution were heard, but the defense called no witnesses, apparently relying on the memorials or answers to the charges which Hopkinson had filed, and on the arguments of his distinguished counsel. On December 23, Attorney-General Smith opened for the state, and Mr. Ingersoll and Mr. Wilson replied. Then the Attorney-General closed the argument, and the council adjourned, to meet again on December 26.

On that day President Reed read the decree. After stating that "it is certainly of the greatest consequence that the streams of justice be kept pure," he continued:

We act in the double capacity of Judges and Jury. It therefore became our duty and we have examined minutely into the evidence. It is immaterial from what motives the prosecution has originated, any further than to determine how far it may affect the credibility of the witnesses—perhaps few public prosecutions have taken their rise from pure regard to the public good, nor is it of any consequence with what view the Assembly forwarded the impeachment—whether it is supported, is the only object of our inquiry. The cause has been ably argued on both sides.

The President then, after reading each article and analyzing minutely the evidence bearing upon it, concluded:

¹ Only five months before, Robert Morris had called Hopkinson "A Gentleman of unblemished Honour & Integrity." See p. 252.

² It should be remembered that Hopkinson had so far had no opportunity to defend himself.

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"Upon the whole, we are unanimously of opinion that the Judge ought to be acquitted upon all the three charges."

In delivering his opinion President Reed took occasion to reply to a remark that had been made by Hopkinson's counsel, to the effect that even if it had been proved that the Judge had solicited a suit of clothes from McClenachan, in return for an appointment as agent, he would have done so, not as a judge, but as a private citizen accepting a voluntary favor. The President said:

We think that the observation of the Attorney General that the appointment of an agent is done by the Judge as such is well founded, and if we had been satisfied of the fact that the Judge had either received or solicited a compensation in this consideration, we should have been at no loss to have declared him guilty.

The only reference to the trial that has been found in Hopkinson's correspondence appears in a letter written to Franklin on March 23, 1783:

I have written many Letters to you, which I fear have miscarried.¹ One in particular I am anxious about, in which I gave you a Narrative at length of a most unhappy Circumstance—no less than a Combination to ruin me forever by some whom from my Youth up I had esteemed as my most confidential Friends,² & on whom I had without Remission conferr'd such Acts of Kindness as I was capable of—You are no Stranger to the Feelings that must occur on such an Occasion.³

An unprejudiced reader who will take the trouble to examine carefully the evidence submitted at Hopkinson's trial will, in the opinion of the author, agree that the decision of the Supreme Executive Council was a fair one. Such, at any rate, was the opinion of Hopkinson's most

¹ See p. 280.

² In his decree, handed down at the end of the trial, President Reed mentioned the fact that Clarkson had been an intimate friend of Hopkinson's. So also had Robert Morris, who later made up his quarrel with the Judge.

³ Letter in the American Philosophical Society, *Franklin Papers*, XXVII, 228.

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distinguished contemporaries. In 1787 he was reappointed judge of the admiralty of Pennsylvania, by the Supreme Executive Council, the tribunal that tried the impeachment proceedings. Two years later he was appointed to a higher judicial office by President Washington, who along with his commission sent a letter expressing a high opinion of his ability and character. Franklin showed his confidence in Hopkinson's integrity by appointing him one of the executors of his will, and Jefferson by recommending him for the office of director of the United States Mint. It is therefore evident that Hopkinson's impeachment had no appreciable effect upon his reputation or upon his subsequent career.

Hopkinson's impeachment and his trouble with the Board of Treasury, which were going on simultaneously, showed that he had the hostility of a powerful and determined political faction, with representatives both in Congress and in the Pennsylvania Assembly. After his acquittal and his resignation from the Treasury Department, however, his foes left him at peace for a time, and his official life became therefore much less eventful.

Documents survive which indicate that he continued to be active in public affairs during the closing days of the Revolution, but these documents refer to matters of comparatively slight importance. For example, a letter dated March 5, 1781, and addressed to Clement Biddle, the new marshal, gives directions about the disposal of a brig called the "Douglass" that had been taken.¹ On May 18, 1781, he wrote to William Bradford, commissioner of prisoners, recommending mercy for William Stevens, a citizen of Massachusetts who had been captured on board

¹ Hopkinson's letter and Biddle's reply, dated March 20, are in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City.

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a British privateer.¹ Finally, he was one of those who on December 13, 1783, "in behalf of the Clergy, Gentlemen of the Law, and Physicians of the City of Philadelphia," presented an address to General Washington, congratulating him on the happy conclusion of the war.²

During the Revolution Hopkinson held four important and responsible offices. By serving in the Second Continental Congress he became one of those who immortalized themselves by signing the Declaration of Independence. As chairman of the Navy Board he successfully administered the affairs of the navy during the most difficult period of the war. As treasurer of loans he performed in a careful and painstaking manner a work involving an infinite amount of tedious detail. As judge of admiralty he at first encountered difficulties that must have caused him much grief and anxiety. He had, however, the satisfaction of being exonerated from all the charges brought against him at the trial, and of retaining the office, in which in later years he completely demonstrated his ability and integrity. Finally, if he designed the American flag—as the author believes he did—he performed a unique and picturesque service for which he should speedily be given the credit so long withheld.

¹ Letter in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Autograph Collection*.

² The address was published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on December 16.

CHAPTER VII

PRIVATE LIFE AND LITERARY WORK DURING THE REVOLUTION

One of Hopkinson's strongest traits was the poise which enabled him to pursue his various hobbies amid clamorous distractions and to keep his serenity under the most trying circumstances. Although he took an active part in the struggle between the Whigs and Tories that raged in New Jersey just before the Declaration of Independence, he went on contributing poems, essays, and literary trifles to the *Pennsylvania Magazine* until the exigencies of war brought the career of that publication to a close in July, 1776. He was a leader in the pamphlet war that preceded the actual conflict of the Revolution, yet his spirit was very different from that of his colleagues; while they raged, he laughed at the British. Even the fearless and patriotic letter in which he announced to his relatives his election to the Continental Congress—an honor that might have put a noose around his neck—is quite free from solemnity and importance. It gives almost as much space to news about the children and plans for a family reunion as it does to the discussion of public affairs.

A charming portrait of Hopkinson, as he appeared to an eminent contemporary, is to be found in a letter written by John Adams to his wife, on August 21, 1776. In this letter, after telling of a visit to the studio of the artist, Charles Willson Peale, the writer continues:

At this shop [Peale's] I met Mr. Francis Hopkinson, late a Mandamus Counsellor of New Jersey, now a member of the Continental Congress, who, it seems, is a native of Philadelphia, a son of a prothono-

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tary of this county, who was a person much respected. The son was liberally educated, and is a painter and a poet. I have a curiosity to penetrate a little deeper into the bosom of this curious gentleman, and may possibly give you some more particulars concerning him. He is one of your pretty, little, curious, ingenious men. His head is not bigger than a large apple, less than our friend Pemberton, or Dr. Simon Taft's. I have not met with anything in natural history more amusing and entertaining than his personal appearance; yet he is genteel and well-bred, and is very social.

I wish I had leisure and tranquillity of mind to amuse myself with these elegant and ingenious arts of painting, sculpture, statuary, architecture, and music. But I have not. A taste in all of them is an agreeable accomplishment. Mr. Hopkinson has taken in crayons with his own hand a picture of Miss Keys, a famous New Jersey beauty. He talks of bringing it to town, and in that case I shall see it I hope.¹

That Hopkinson did possess the tranquillity of mind that John Adams lacked and wished for is proved most conclusively by a document now owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania—a volume of thirty-nine very closely written pages, which bears this interesting title and note:

CHRONOLOGICAL Tables of Europe from the Nativity of our Savior to the Year 1703; whereby any one may know in what Time and Kingdom any Pope, Emperor or King reigned, who were his Predecessors, Contemporaries and Successors, to what Virtues or Vices he was inclined, the good or ill Success of his Fortune, with the Manner & Time of his Death. By Colonel PARSONS.

F: HOPKINSON SCRIP. ANNO 1776

Surely a man so active in public affairs as Hopkinson would not have found time during the turbulent days of 1776 to copy this book had he not possessed a placid temper, and an active and inquiring mind as well.

Though Hopkinson doubtless suffered considerable losses when the Hessians plundered Bordentown, and though the depreciation of the currency had a correspond-

¹ *Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife, Abigail Adams*, pp. 216-17.

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ing effect on his income, he probably never suffered any serious financial distress during the Revolution. *Caspi-pina's Letters*, which were first published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* in 1772, state that he at that time was in comfortable circumstances,¹ and incidentally mention the fact that he kept servants.² His house at Bordentown was a substantial Colonial mansion, furnished, if we may believe the testimony of Captain Ewald, in an unusually impressive manner. At the outbreak of the war, then, he was probably a well-to-do citizen. His salary as chairman of the Navy Board was only \$1,500 a year,³ but on May 13, and August 27, 1778, he was given additional sums of \$600 and \$510²/₃ to cover additional expenses incurred while the board had headquarters in Baltimore.⁴ His salary as treasurer of loans was at first \$2,000, but was later raised to \$3,500.⁵ As judge of admiralty he received £500 a year, £15 for each case tried, and other fees besides.⁶ Among the papers of Mrs. Florence Scovel Shinn are plats which show that Hopkinson in 1777 bought more than six hundred acres of land lying on the border of Susquehannah and Northumberland counties. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has a very interesting document, dated July 10, 1780, which reads as follows:

A Return of Negroe Slaves belonging to the Subscriber, Judge of the Court of Admiralty for the State of Pennsylvania & now residing in Mulberry Ward of this City,

That is to say

1 Negroe Wench named Violet aged 30 years

1 Negroe Boy called Dan aged 9 years

FRA^s HOPKINSON⁷

¹ *Caspi-pina's Letters*, letter x.

² *Ibid.*, letter viii.

³ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, VI, 933.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XI, 493 and 842.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 692, and XIII, 19.

⁶ Letter from Joseph Reed to Francis Hopkinson, dated July 14, 1779; in the collection of Mr. Edward Hopkinson.

⁷ In the *Society Collection*.

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From all this it would appear that during the most trying years of the Revolution Hopkinson was able to live in comfort and to lay aside some money for investment.

The greatest trial that came to Hopkinson during the war arose from the conduct of his brother-in-law, Jacob Duché, who has already been mentioned several times in this biography. Duché was a member of a prosperous Philadelphia family. After his graduation from college in 1757, he went to England, where he was ordained for the ministry, after having spent a year in Cambridge University. Returning to Philadelphia in 1759, he married Elizabeth Hopkinson, the sister of his classmate and most intimate friend. For a time after his return he taught oratory in the College of Philadelphia. In 1760 he became assistant to the Rev. Richard Peters, whom he succeeded as rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's in 1775. At the beginning of the trouble with England, Duché supported the American cause with great vigor. On September 6, 1774, he was asked to serve as chaplain of the First Continental Congress, and on the next day he appeared at Carpenters' Hall, where he read the service and delivered an eloquent extempore prayer, which "filled the bosom of every man present."¹ On May 10, 1775, he opened the Second Continental Congress with prayer. He published two patriotic sermons, one of which he dedicated to General Washington,² to whom he presented a copy, accompanied by an effusive letter. After the Declaration of Independence he ceased to pray publicly for the King, and on July 8, 1776,

¹ *Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife, Abigail Adams*, p. 37.

² This sermon, *On the Duty of Standing Fast in Our Spiritual and Temporal Liberties*, was preached in Christ Church to the First Battalion of Philadelphia on July 7, 1775; the other, entitled *The American Vine*, was preached before Congress on July 20, 1775. Both were published in 1775. In addition to these sermons and *Caspipina's Letters*, previously mentioned, Duché published the

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he became the official chaplain of Congress. At the first meeting after his appointment he offered another eloquent extempore prayer.¹

His zeal, however, was as short lived as it was ardent. On October 17, 1776, he resigned his position as chaplain, giving as the reason for his resignation the condition of his health and the demands of his parochial duties. A few days later he directed that the one hundred and fifty dollars that were due to him for his services be paid to the widows and orphans of Pennsylvania officers killed in the war. When Howe took Philadelphia, he put Duché in jail,² but kept him there only a short time. On October 8 Duché made himself forever notorious by writing to Washington a letter urging him to betray the American cause. The writer declared that he had never been in favor of independence, and explained his patriotic activities by asserting that he had undertaken them to avoid closing his churches. He severely criticized Congress and the army, asserted that the hope of French intervention was vain, and predicted the defeat of the American army. In conclusion, he advised the General to "represent to Congress the indispensable Necessity of recalling the hasty and ill-advised

following works: *The Life and Death of the Righteous* (a sermon), Philadelphia, 1771; *Discourses on Various Subjects* (2 vols.), London, 1779, 1780, and 1790; and *A Sermon Preached at St. Dunstan's in the West*, London, 1791. *Pennsylvania, a Poem*, by "a student of the College of Philadelphia," printed by Franklin in 1776, is generally attributed to him. A good biographical sketch of Duché, by the Rev. E. D. Neill, was published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 58-73.

¹ This prayer was published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on February 18, 1778. A copy of it, taken from Ezra Stiles's manuscript diary, is in the Harvard Library, *Sparks Collection*.

² The *Journal* of Captain John Montresor, chief engineer of the British army, contains this entry for September 28, 1777: "Mr. Duché, minister, was put in jail for having been concerned in the Rebellion." See the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, VI, 44.

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declaration of Independency"; and, if Congress would not heed his advice, to "negotiate for America at the Head of [his] Army."

Duché's letter was carried to Washington by Mrs. Elizabeth Graeme Ferguson, the "Miss Eliza Graeme" to whom Hopkinson had twelve years before "inscribed" one of his poems. In 1772 she had married Henry Hugh Ferguson, a Scotchman, who served with the British army during the Revolution. The Americans had so much confidence in Mrs. Ferguson that they allowed her to visit her husband when he was stationed in New York, and to pass through the lines while the British held Philadelphia; but their confidence was not well placed, as this incident clearly demonstrates.¹

On receiving Duché's letter, Washington promptly turned it over to Congress. The results of this action were, of course, most disastrous to the writer, whose name at once became anathema to most of those who had formerly been his friends and admirers. As soon as Hopkinson heard

¹ Mrs. Ferguson's behavior probably arose from lack of judgment rather than from conscious disloyalty. She had had a rather romantic career. In early youth, while recovering from an unhappy love affair, she had sought distraction from her grief by making a verse translation of Fénelon's *Télémaque*, which had given her a local reputation as a "literary lady." Later she visited England, where she became acquainted with many prominent and aristocratic people. It will be remembered that when Hopkinson went abroad he carried a number of letters for her. After her return to Philadelphia, she again essayed literature; this time she made a metrical version of the Psalms, which is still preserved among the papers of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The Duché affair was not the only one of the kind in which she was implicated. It was she who conveyed to Joseph Reed, the president of Pennsylvania, Governor Johnstone's offer of a ten-thousand-pound bribe, which drew the famous answer: "I am not worth purchasing, but, such as I am, the King of England is not rich enough to buy me." Because Ferguson had served in the British army, Graeme Park, of which he had become part owner, was confiscated by the American government. Later, through the influence of Hopkinson and others, Mrs. Ferguson was allowed to use the property during the rest of her life. Mrs. Ferguson, who was very hospitable, made her home a gathering place for literary and other cultured people. For further information about this interesting woman the reader is referred to the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXIX, 257 ff.

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the startling news, he wrote the following letter to his brother-in-law:

BORDEN TOWN NOV 14th 1777

DEAR BROTHER.

A Letter signed with your Name, dated at Philad^a 8th Oct. last, & addressed to his Excellency General Washington is handed about the country: many Copies are taken & I doubt not but it will soon get into the Press, and become public thro'out the Continent—Words cannot express the Grief & Consternation that wounded my Soul at Sight of this fatal Performance. What Infatuation could influence you to offer his Excellency an Address fill'd with gross Misrepresentations, illiberal Abuse & sentiments unworthy of a Man of Character. You have endeavoured to screen your own Weaknesses by the most artful Glosses, and to apologize to the General for the Instability of your Temper, in a Manner that I am sure cannot be satisfactory to your own Conscience.

I could go thro' this extraordinary Letter & point out to you the Truth distorted in every leading Part—But the World will doubtless do this with a Severity that must be Daggers to the Sensibilities of your Heart.—Read that Letter over again:—&, if possible, divest yourself of the Fears & Influences, whatever they were, that induced you to pen it. Consider its Contents with an impartial Eye & reflect on the Ideas it will naturally raise in the Minds of the Multitude. You will then find that you have by a vain and weak Effort attempted the Integrity of one whose Virtue is impregnable to the Assaults of Fear or Flattery: whose Judgment needed not your Information and who, I am sure, would have resigned his Charge the Moment he found it likely to lead him out of the Paths of Virtue and Honour. You will find that you have drawn upon you the Resentment of Congress, the Resentment of the Army, the Resentment of many worthy and noble Characters in England whom you know not, and the Resentment of your insulted Country. You have ventured to assert many Things at large of the Affairs of England, France & America which are far from being true, & which from your contracted Knowledge of these Matters, it is impossible for you to be acquainted with. In the whole of your Letter, you have never once recommended yourself to those, whose Favour you seem desirous of obtaining, by expatiating on the Justice or Humanity of their Conduct, & at the same Time have said every thing that can render you odious to those on whom the Happiness of your future Life must de-

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pend. You presumptuously advise our worthy General, on whom Millions depend with implicit Confidence, to abandon their dearest Hopes, and with or without the Consent of his Constituents, to *negotiate for America at the head of his army*. Would not the Blood of the Slain in Battle rise against such Perfidy? And with whom would you have him negotiate? Are they not those who, without the Sanction of any civil, moral or religious Right, have come 3000 Miles to destroy our Peace and Property: to lay waste to *your* native Country with Fire and Sword & cruelly murder its Inhabitants. Look for their Justice & Honour in their several Proclamations & look for their Humanity in the Gaols of New York and Philad^a and in your own Potter's Field.—The whole Force of the Reasoning contained in your Letter tends to this Point. That Virtue and Honour require us to stand by Truth as long as it can be done with Safety, but that her Cause must be abandoned on the Approach of Danger; or, in other Words, that the Justice of the American Cause ought to be squared by the Success of her Arms.

On the whole I find it impossible to reconcile the Matter and Stile of this Letter with your general Conduct, or with the Virtues of your Heart. I would fain hope, notwithstanding your Assertion to the contrary, that you wrote it with a Bayonet held to your Breast by the Order of the unprincipled Usurpers of *your* native City.

But my chief Motive for writing to you at this Time, is to assure you that I firmly believe our just defensive War will be crowned with Success & that we shall e'er long return to our Habitations in Philad^a. I would therefore most earnestly warn you to evade the dismal Consequences of your ill-judged Address to our beloved General—Do all you can to wipe off, if possible, its unhappy Effects. I tremble for you—for my good Sister & her little Family—I tremble for your personal Safety. Be assured I write you this from true brotherly Love. Our Intimacy hath been of long Duration—even from our early Youth—long and uninterrupted, without even a Rub in the Way; and so long have the Sweetness of your Manners and the Integrity of your Heart fixed my Affections. I am perfectly disposed to attribute this unfortunate Step to the Timidity of your Temper, the weakness of your Nerves and the undue Influence of those about you. But will the World hold you so excused? Will the Individuals whom you have so freely censured and characterized with Contempt have this Tenderness for you?—I fear not—They will only judge your Conduct by its Rashness, & proportion

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their Resentment to their Sensibility of the Wounds you have given. I pray God to inspire you with some Means of extricating yourself from this embarrassing Difficulty.

For my own Part, I have well considered the Principles on which I took part with my Country & am determined to abide by them to the last Extremity.

I beg my love to my good mother and affectionate Sisters. I often think of them with great Pain and Anxiety, lest they should suffer from the Want of those necessary Supplies that are now cut off. May God preserve them and you in this Time of Trial. . . .

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Hopkinson sent this letter to Washington, with a request that it be forwarded to Duché in case it should meet the Commander's approval. On November 21, Washington replied, promising that he would try to place Hopkinson's letter in Duché's hands, and explaining his own reasons for giving Duché's letter to Congress:

I never intended to make the letter more public, than by laying it before Congress. I thought this a Duty which I owed to myself; for had any accident have happened to the Army intrusted to my command, and had it ever afterwards have appeared that such a letter had been wrote to, and received by me, might it not have been said that I had, in consequence of it, betrayed my Country?²

Washington kept Hopkinson's letter until January 27, 1778, when he returned it with this note:

Having never found an opportunity of conveying the Letter, which you some time ago sent me for M^r Duché, by such a channel as I thought it would reach him, I return it to you again. The contents have not been made Public.³

Duché's unfortunate letter ended his career in Philadelphia. On December 9 he announced to his congregation

¹ Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq. The chief letters in this famous correspondence have been published by Mr. Worthington C. Ford in a volume called *The Washington-Duché Letters*.

² Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

³ Letter owned by Mr. Edward Hopkinson. It is not in Mr. Ford's *op. cit.*

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that he was going to England to explain his conduct to the Bishop of London. He sailed on December 12, but an accident which disabled his ship, and a severe illness which forced him to remain for some time on the island of Antigua, delayed his voyage, so that he did not arrive in London until July, 1778.¹

On March 6, 1778, the Assembly of Pennsylvania passed a law by which they confiscated Duché's property, along with that of other Loyalists;² but on May 12, 1779, Hopkinson secured from the Supreme Executive Council fifteen hundred pounds for the use of his sister and her children, who were preparing to join Duché in England.³ The family started a few days later, but were compelled by the illness of Mrs. Duché to return to Philadelphia, where they remained until April, 1780,⁴ when they finally sailed for England.

Duché was rewarded by the British government for his loyalty by being appointed chaplain and secretary of the Asylum for Female Orphans, at St. George's Fields, in Lambeth Parish. Although in comfortable circumstances, the family were never happy in England. In April, 1783, Duché wrote to Washington,⁵ Franklin,⁶ Hopkinson,⁷ Dick-

¹ Letter from Duché to Hopkinson, written in April, 1783; in the *Sparks Collection*, Harvard University.

² See the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, V, 94.

³ *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, XI, 773-74.

⁴ The *Pennsylvania Colonial Records* show that on June 9, 1779, Hopkinson obtained from the Supreme Executive Council permission for his sister to return to Philadelphia, and on April 7, 1780, permission for her to start for England a second time. The second of his petitions is in the *Dreer Collection* of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁵ Letter of April 2, published in *The Writings of George Washington* (ed., Jared Sparks), V, 481-82.

⁶ Letter of April 22, in the American Philosophical Society, *Franklin Papers*, XXVIII, 54.

⁷ Letter dated "April 1783," in the Harvard Library, *Sparks Collection*.

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inson, and Morris.¹ To Hopkinson he asserted that he had not written the famous communication to Washington under British compulsion; and to both Washington and Hopkinson he denied that he had meant to advise the General to betray his country. On August 10, 1783, Washington wrote to Duché that he himself had no objection to his returning to Philadelphia providing the state authorities of Pennsylvania had none.² It was not, however, until May, 1792, that the exiles at last came home. Meanwhile, Duché's son, Thomas Spence, a pupil of West and an artist of great promise, had died in 1789. While living in England, Duché became a convert to the teachings of Emanuel Swedenborg. During his latter years he grew so eccentric that some of his friends doubted his complete sanity.

Of the correspondence carried on between Hopkinson and other members of his family during the Revolution only a few letters have been preserved. Three of these were written in November, 1778, to his wife, who had gone to Bordentown to attend the wedding of her brother.³

The first, dated November 21, contains a report on the health of the children,⁴ a considerable amount of neighborhood news, and a doggerel, "Epithalamion," for the bride and groom.

Another, which bears no date but "Sunday Morning," begins as follows:

I dined yesterday at General Reed's, where we had a very sumptuous Entertainment indeed for a small Company. In the Evening I was

¹ Letters to Dickinson and Morris are mentioned in the letter to Franklin.

² Letter in *The Writings of George Washington*, V, 482.

³ These letters are in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

⁴ When the Hopkinsons returned to Philadelphia, their family consisted of three children—Joseph, Elizabeth, and Mary. During the Revolution three children were born: Ann, October 19, 1777; Thomas, September 23, 1779; and Francis, May 13, 1781. Thomas died on November 5, 1779. Their youngest child, Sarah Johnson, was born on May 26, 1784.

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at a Court of Music at Mr Brown's at the Navy Office. Mr Bremner, Mr Hillegas,¹ Bache,² Peters & some french Performers made up the Set, and the Music went off better than I expected.

In this letter Hopkinson tells of having met Colonel Laurens, "the President's Son,"³ whom he describes as a gallant officer, and a sensible, modest, and polite young gentleman, with a taste for the fine arts.

In the third letter, dated "Friday Evening," Hopkinson tells of a dinner party that he had reluctantly given:

On Sunday evening last I went to see President Laurens who invited himself to eat a Beef-Steak with me on the Tuesday following. I told him you were from Home, but he said he would come again after your Return. I could not be off—My Company were Mr Laurens & his Son the Colonel, Mr Drayton,⁴ Mr Hillegas, & our Neighbor Mr White.⁵ We did as well as we could—but my Table lacked its chief Ornament.

Although little of Hopkinson's family correspondence during the Revolution has survived, personal letters written by him to other people are rather numerous. On October 22, 1778, he renewed his correspondence with Franklin, who was then in France:

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Had I consulted my own Inclinations more than your Ease, you should frequently have heard from me since you left us; but knowing your Correspondence to be extensive & your Engagements important, I have avoided offering myself to your Notice, lest I should intrude on some more weighty Concern. I would not, however, carry this Delicacy so far as to run the Hazard of being entirely forgot by one who was my

¹ Michael Hillegas, treasurer of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety.

² Richard Bache, Franklin's son-in-law.

³ Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, was president of Congress in 1777-78. In 1779 he was appointed minister to Holland. On his way thither he was captured by the British, who confined him in the Tower of London until the end of the war. Colonel John Laurens was wounded at the battle of Germantown in 1777. In 1781 he went on a special mission to France. In 1782 he was killed in a skirmish at Combahee Ferry, S.C.

⁴ William Drayton, congressman from South Carolina.

⁵ Probably William White, later bishop of the Protestant Episcopal church.

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Father's Friend to the last, & whom I am very proud to call mine. A Continuance of your Regard will be a real Gratification to me & flatter my Vanity, as I can truly say I both love & honour you.

Then follows the account, already quoted, of the plundering of Bordentown by the "Goths and Vandals," after which the writer continues:

I have not Abilities to assist our righteous Cause by personal Prowess & Force of Arms, but I have done it all the Service I could with my Pen—throwing in my Mite at Times in Prose & Verse, serious & satirical Essays &ca. The Congress have been pleased to appoint me Treasurer of Loans for the United States, with a Salary of 2000 Dollars. Could our Money recover its former Value, I should think that a handsome Appointment—as it is,—it is a Substantial.

M^{rs} Bache¹ has been so good as to lend me your portable Electric Apparatus, which I have got in excellent Order, & shall take great care of; it is a great Amusement to me—& I hope you will not be offended with her & me for this Liberty; I wish to borrow also your little Air Pump, which is at present much out of Order, but I will clean it & put it to Rights if she will let me have it. Whatever she lends me will be punctually restored on Demand, in good Repair.—N:B: Your Gim-cracks have suffered much by the late Usurpers of our City.²

On June 4, 1779, Franklin replied from Passy, congratulating Hopkinson in these significant words on his appointment as treasurer of loans:

I think the Congress judg'd rightly in their choice, as Exactness in accounts and scrupulous fidelity in matters of Trust are Qualities for which your father was eminent, and which I was persuaded was inherited by his Son when I took the Liberty of naming him one of the Executors of my Will, a Liberty which I hope you will excuse.

With regard to their common losses at the hands of the British, Franklin was most philosophical:

I am sorry for the Losses you have suffered by the Goths and Vandals, but hope it will be made up to you by the good Providence of

¹ Franklin's daughter, Sarah, married Richard Bache on October 29, 1767. See *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (ed., Albert Henry Smyth), V, 39 n.

² Letter in the American Philosophical Society, *Franklin Papers*, XII, 72.

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God and the good Will of your Country to whom your Pen has occasionally been of Service.

I am glad the enemy have left something of my Gimcrackery that is capable of affording you pleasure. You are therefore very welcome to the use of the Electrical and Pneumatic Machines as long as you think proper.

In conclusion, the letter mentioned "a little Piece or two of Oxford wit" that Franklin was sending, and recommended to Hopkinson's acquaintance the new French minister, M. le Chevalier de Luzerne.¹

On September 5, 1779, Hopkinson wrote Franklin a very long letter, the most important parts of which are quoted below:

Your very obliging Favour of the 4th June came to hand within these few Days. My Friendship & Pride were both highly gratified by this Indulgence. I hope I shall always endeavor to merit your Esteem and the Esteem of all good Men. The Trust you have been pleased to repose in me does me Honour, & I doubt not but you may depend on the Exertion of my best Services in everything that respects you and your Affairs.

I thank you for the little Piece of Oxford Wit. I have just made your Pig squeak in Dunlap's Packet². Kill pig has brought his Pigs to a fine Market truly—and as 'tis Pity his Knife & Steel should be

¹ *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, VII, 350-51.

² The "Piece of Oxford Wit" is in the *Packet* of September 4, 1779:

"Upon the tressel *pig* was laid;
A dreadful squeaking, sure he made:
Killpig stood by with knife and steel—
'Canst not be quiet? Why dost squeal?
Have I not fed thee with my pease?
And now, for trifles such as these,
Dost thou rebel?—So full of victual—
Canst not be cut and slash'd a little?'
To whom thus *piggie* in reply—
'How canst thou think I'll quiet lie?
Or that for pease my life I'll barter?'
'Then *piggie* you must show your charter,

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unemploy'd; the best he can do is to cut his own Throat.—In Return for your Rocket I send you a few of my political Squibs. Ammunition of this kind hath been rather scarce with us. Most of our Writers have left the great Field of general Politics, wherein they might have been of considerable Service to skirmish & bush-fight in the Fens & Thickets of Party Dispute—for which I blame them much.

I am greatly obliged by the use of your electric Apparatus, of which I shall take particular Care. You will probably repent of your Kindness when I tell you that I am preparing a long Letter to you on the Subject of Electricity. It would have been forwarded to you before now, but the Summer Season being unfavorable for Electrical Experiments & my Time being much engaged in the Duties of my Office, I have not been able to compleat my System. Should you find Time to write to me again, I would just hint that you cannot oblige me more than by communicating any new philosophical Discoveries, or Systems, new Improvements in mathematical or philosophical Machinery—new Phenomena—new Discoveries—Gim-Cracks &c. for all of which I have an insatiable Avidity. When I was in London I never ventur'd into Nearne's or Adams's shops till I was just ready to sail for America & had spent all my Money, not caring to expose myself to irresistible Temptation. . . .

Mons^r Luzerne is not yet arrived in this City but is soon expected. I shall think myself honour'd in his Acquaintance. We have been especially happy with M^r Gerard^t who has made himself beloved by every Body here (except the Tories) & will be universally regretted when he leaves us—by him I send this Letter. . . .

M^{rs} Bache tells me you have sent a Bust of yourself by M^r Luzerne. She has promised to send for me when it is to be unpack'd. I

Prove you're exempted more than others,
Or go to pot like all your brothers.

(*Pig struggles*)

Help, neighbors, help,—this *pig's* so strong,
I fear I cannot hold him long—
Oh help, I say! See by my blunder,
He's gone and broke his bands asunder!

"Exeunt Omnes. Pig running, Killpig after him, neighbors following, God knows whither!"

^t Conrad Alexander Gerard had come to America as minister from France in July, 1778.

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hope she wont forget her promise. She has been so good as to give me one of the Profiles in Clay you sent over—A good Likeness of General Washington goes over with M^r Gerard. I doubt not but there will soon be capital Engravings done at Paris from this Picture—I shall expect one from some Body or other—Some Friend at Passy or Paris will doubtless remember me.¹

In his reply, written on March 6, 1780, Franklin thanked Hopkinson for the “squibs,” which he characterized as well made and full of powder. In return he sent some American propaganda, entitled “A Merry Song about Murder,” which had appeared in a London paper. In answer to Hopkinson’s inquiry about the progress of scientific investigation, he mentioned Jan Ingenhousz’s discovery “relating to the great use of trees in producing wholesome air”² and an invention which he described as follows:

A new instrument is lately invented here, a kind of telescope; which by means of Iceland crystal occasions the double appearance of an object, and, the two appearances being further distant from each other in proportion to the distance of the object from the eye, by moving an index on a graduated line till the two objects coincide, you find on the line the real distance of the object.³

A letter written by Hopkinson on July 17, 1781, explains why some of his communications to Franklin had miscarried:

I have wrote you many Letters, but fear few ever reached your Hand. In particular I wrote fully by the unfortunate President Laurens enclosing some of my Labours in the Cause (such as they were) they fell into the Hands of the British & were probably handed up to the Court with great Solemnity, along with Papers of more Consequence—They are heartily welcome to any Performance of mine in that Way. I wish the Dose were stronger & better for their Sake.

The only Disappointment I have is that my Squibbs would prob-

¹ Letter in the American Philosophical Society, *Franklin Papers*, XV, 170.

² Jan Ingenhousz, *Expériences sur les végétaux*.

³ *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, VIII, 32–33.

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ably have afforded a Laugh to you, which is a very wholesome Exercise, but will do them no Good.

This letter ends with a characteristic expression of affection and esteem:

I shall not enter upon the large field of News & Politics nor discuss the Subject of your Enemies & Friends—To be without Enemies would be to be of no Consequence in the World, which never will be your Case; & to enjoy the Love and Esteem of a respectable Number in almost all the civilized Parts of the World, whose Friendship it is an honour & a gratification to possess, will I doubt not be your Happiness to the latest hour of your Life—Amongst your friends I claim a Place, & shall be ever proud of an Opportunity of assuring you again & again that I am

Your sincerely Affectionate,

F. HOPKINSON¹

Franklin's reply, dated September 13, 1781, expressed regret for the loss of the "squibs," and asked Hopkinson to try to recover some "gimcracks" that the writer had lent several years before to one of his neighbors. After some philosophical remarks about the necessity of having a few enemies, the writer concluded with a request that Hopkinson furnish the names of the "new crop of prose writers" that was growing up in Philadelphia. "I see in your papers," he wrote, "many of their fictitious names, but nobody tells me the real."²

Of the political squibs referred to in the Hopkinson-Franklin correspondence four that were written while the trouble with England was still a family quarrel have already been discussed. The first, *A Pretty Story*, published in the fall of 1774, described in humorous allegory the attempts of England to tax the Colonies; the second, "On the Late Continental Fast," written in the summer of 1775, warned the Americans of the seriousness of their situation,

¹ Letter in the American Philosophical Society, *Franklin Papers*, XXII, 85.

² *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, VIII, 306-7.

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and urged upon them not only fasting and prayer, but "public virtue and private morality and piety"; the third, an oration delivered on May 15, 1776, urged his hearers to trust God, to be courageous, and to live at peace among themselves; and the fourth, "A Prophecy," written in the spring of 1776, predicted the establishment of a new government.

For some weeks after his election to Congress, Hopkinson apparently found no time for writing; but in the fall of 1776, he opened a new pamphleteering campaign by publishing in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* "Two Letters,"¹ intended to arouse the wrath of the Whigs by calling attention to the various activities of the Tories. These two letters were ostensibly written by a Tory. In the first, which appeared on November 16, the writer declared that he was very glad to know that in Philadelphia there was one paper, the *Pennsylvania Ledger*, printed by James Humphreys, that was entirely "subservient to the purposes of Lord and General Howe"; and expressed great indignation because an acquaintance of his had asserted that the *Ledger* ought to be suppressed for sowing dangerous dissension, spreading false alarms, and undermining the general defensive operations of the government in an hour of danger. The second letter, published on November 26, praised the Loyalists for their efficiency in intercepting mails, sending out false reports, spying on the Americans, raising the prices of necessities, and depreciating the currency. The writer asserted that he himself had stolen and forwarded to General Howe mail sent by General Washington to Congress.

By this Mail (which was stole from off the express horse, whilst he was refreshing himself at Bristol) Gen. Howe was informed of the situa-

¹ They appear in *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 132-41, under this title.

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tion of the American army, and of the day on which most of the troops would be disbanded by the expiration of their enlistments. He accordingly came into Jersey with his whole force at the critical time and drove Gen. Washington over the Delaware.¹

In his next communication to the press, "A Letter to Lord Howe,"² written in December, 1776,³ Hopkinson exchanged satire for persuasion. Lord Richard Howe, admiral of the British fleet sent to America, and Sir William Howe, commander of the army, were younger brothers of Colonel George Howe, who had lost his life in the capture of Fort Ticonderoga in the French and Indian War. When they took command of the naval and military operations against America, Hopkinson addressed to the Admiral a letter beginning thus:

MY LORD,

Whatever errors the court of Great Britain might have fallen into in the commencement of the present unhappy contest with America, it was at least a politic step to commit the conduct of this important affair to your Lordship, and the General your brother.

The name of *Howe* is dear to America; and amongst the many distressing difficulties we have to encounter, it is no inconsiderable one to overcome the predilection we feel for your family. The exalted virtues of your heroic brother, whose bones are embraced by that soil you are now drenching with blood, often rise in painful remembrance.⁴

After this conciliatory introduction the writer concedes that the British Commander is conscientiously "asserting and enforcing" what he believes to be the rights of his sovereign, and asks in return that the Americans be

¹ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, VI, 907, show that on October 29, 1776, Hopkinson and James Wilson were appointed a committee to try to recover these dispatches.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 121-26.

³ It is so dated. It was published in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* on January 9, and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on February 5, 1777.

⁴ Colonel Howe had been so popular in America that Massachusetts had erected a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

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credited with motives as honorable. He next states briefly the case of America, and ends with a plea for mercy to noncombatants, who have already suffered "devastation, insult, murder, and ruin" at the hands of the British troops:

In the meantime, though you carry on your master's work, let not the lawless hand of rapine spread unnecessary desolation through our bleeding country—Arrest the plunderer's greedy grasp, and suffer not the cries of the despoiled virgin to call to Heaven for vengeance on those who regard not God, and trample on the sacred rights of humanity. Wrongs like these, tarnish the lustre of victory, and blast the laurels of the brave.

Soon after the publication of the "Letter to Lord Howe," Hopkinson prepared for the press still another communication, which bears the title, "Translation of a Letter Written by a Foreigner on his Travels."¹ This letter, which purports to have been written in London, begins with this estimate of the English character:

The general character of the English is certainly the most fantastic and absurd that ever fell to the lot of any known nation. As they are made up of contradictions, it would be unjust to give them any uniform designation. There is scarce a virtue that adorns the mind, or a vice that disgraces human nature, but may be ascribed to them as part of their national character. But the former are often rendered ineffectual by misapplication, and the latter qualified by a levity of manners, which shews them not to be constitutionally prevalent. An Englishman will treat his enemy with great generosity, and his friend with ingratitude and inhumanity. He will be lavish of his wealth when he has but little of it, and become a miserly wretch when fortune pours her favours into his purse. He will brave the utmost hardships, and encounter the severest trials with heroic fortitude; and will drown or hang himself because

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 98-110. Here the letter is dated December 3, 1776. In the Huntington manuscript it was originally dated December 23, but the "2" was later partially erased. A note in the manuscript states, however, that the letter was written in January, 1777. It was published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on February 4.

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the wind is in the east. He will lend large sums to a stranger on the slightest security, and refuse his nearest relation the means of subsistence. To-day, his heart expands with social benevolence; to-morrow, he is cold, sullen and morose—To-day, he possesses the wealth of a nabob; to-morrow, he refuses a six-pence to a beggar, lest he should himself be reduced to the want of that six-pence. In a word, contradiction and absurdity make an Englishman.

To support his thesis Hopkinson cites three examples of British inconsistency. First, the English, who “assume to themselves the character of being the most just, generous, and humane nation in the world,” encourage the slave trade. Second, they have permitted Clive in India to “put to death some hundred thousands of the inoffensive inhabitants, by the sword, by famine, and the most atrocious cruelties,” and they “now govern in the East Indies with a tyranny so pure, so unadulterated with any mixture of justice and humanity, as could not have been exceeded in the reigns of the twelve Caesars.” Now, the King of England has quarreled with his loyal subjects in America, “because they are so obstinate that they will not acknowledge that *two and two make five*.” To make his subjects “subscribe to his new dogma,” he has sent over, “not only his own fleets and armies, but has hired a banditti of foreign mercenaries from a petty prince, who supports the splendor of his court by selling the blood of his subjects; and he has also employed negroes and wild Indians to persecute the poor Americans without mercy.”

Hopkinson next asserts that the King and his ministers, not the English people, are responsible for the war, and declares that the defeat of America will lead to the destruction of constitutional liberty in England herself. Finally, he accounts for the docility of the English voters by describing the typical Englishman as a man who “believes

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in the Athanasian creed, honours the King, and makes pin-heads."¹

In January, 1777, just after the battles of Trenton and Princeton, while the royal army was "lying in Brunswick, mortified and crest-fallen," Hopkinson wrote "A Political Catechism,"² which, in a series of questions and answers, stated the grievances of America and gave a history of the war up to that time. The "Catechism" contains a rather amusing character sketch of the King, whose chief traits are said to be "injustice, obstinacy, and folly," and ends with this eulogistic description of General Washington:

To him the title of *Excellency* is applied with peculiar propriety. He is the best and the greatest man the world ever knew. In private life, he wins the hearts and wears the love of all who are so happy as to fall within the circle of his acquaintance. In his public character, he commands universal respect and admiration. Conscious that the principles on which he acts are indeed founded in virtue and truth, he steadily pursues the arduous work with a mind neither depressed by disappointment and difficulties, nor elated with temporary success. He retreats like a General, and attacks like a Hero. Had he lived in the days of idolatry, he had been worshipped as a God. One age cannot do justice to his merit; but a grateful posterity shall, for a succession of ages, remember the great deliverer of his country.

In the summer of 1777 the British opened a campaign by which they expected to reduce the Americans to complete submission in a very short time. General Burgoyne, with eight thousand men, came down from Quebec by way of Lake Champlain to Fort Ticonderoga, which he captured. At the same time another force of British, Tories, and Indians started from Oswego to sweep across New York and join the army of Burgoyne. After uniting, these forces were to proceed down the Hudson, join the army of

¹ See the beginning of chap. i.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 111-20. I have not found the "Catechism" in the press.

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Howe, and thus cut off New England from the other Colonies. After the capture of Fort Ticonderoga, Burgoyne, having the utmost confidence in the success of his expedition, issued a very pompous proclamation in which he offered mercy to all the Americans who would surrender, but threatened those who persisted in rebellion with swift and terrible vengeance:

The messengers of justice and wrath await them in the field: and devastation, famine, and every concomitant horror that a reluctant, but indispensable prosecution of military duty must occasion, will bar the way to their return [to the favor of England].¹

The effect of this proclamation was very different from what the author expected. Instead of at once laying down their arms, the rebels prepared to resist him to the utmost; and in response to his thundering proclamation the American pamphleteers wrote replies, parodies, and ballads innumerable.² Among those who made fun of the great man was Hopkinson, who wrote this derisive answer:

To *John Burgoyne, esq. lieutenant-general of his majesty's armies in America; colonel of the queen's regiment of light dragoons; governor of Fort-William in North-Britain; one of the representatives of the commons of Great-Britain; and commanding an army and fleet employed on an expedition from Canada, &c., &c., &c.*³

MOST HIGH! MOST MIGHTY! MOST PUISSANT, AND SUBLIME LIEUTENANT-GENERAL!

When the forces under your command arrived at Quebec, *in order to act in concert and upon a common principle with the numerous fleets and armies which already display in every quarter of America, the justice and mercy of your king*; we the reptiles of America, were seized with unusual trepidation and confounded with dismay. But what words can express the plenitude of our horror when the colonel of the queen's

¹ See W. O. Niles, *Principles and Acts of the Revolution*, pp. 262-64.

² William A. Stone has collected a large volume of *Ballads and Poems Relating to Burgoyne's Campaign*.

³ Words in italics are quoted from Burgoyne's proclamation.

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regiment of light dragoons advanced towards Ticonderoga. The mountains trembled before thee, and the trees of the forest bowed their lofty heads: the vast lakes of the west were chilled at thy presence, and the stupendous cataract of *Niagara* bellowed at thy approach.—Judge then, oh! ineffable governor of Fort-William in North-Britain! what must have been the consternation, terror, and despair of us miserable Americans, whilst in your irresistible advances you laid all waste with fire and sword, more fully to display *the justice and mercy* of your king. Dark and dreary was the prospect before us, till, like the sun in the east, your most generous, most sublime, and inimitable proclamation shed abroad the cheering rays of protection and mercy, and shone upon the only path that could lead us from the pit of annihilation.

We foolishly thought, ignorant as we were, that your gracious master's fleet and armies were come to destroy us and subdue our country; but we are most happy in hearing from you—and who can doubt what one of the representatives of the commons of Great-Britain asserts? that they were *called forth for the sole purpose of restoring the rights of the constitution to a froward and stubborn generation.*

And is it for this, oh, sublime lieutenant-general of his majesty's armies in America! that you have left the commons of Great-Britain to shift for themselves, and crossed the wide Atlantic; and shall we most ungratefully decline the profered blessing? *To restore the rights of the constitution*, you have collected an amiable host of savages, and turned them loose to scalp our wives and children, and to desolate our country. This they have actually performed with their usual skill and clemency; and we yet remain insensible of the benefit—we yet remain unthankful for such unparalleled goodness.

Our congress hath declared independence—and our assemblies, as your sublimity justly observes, have most wickedly imprisoned some of the avowed friends of that power with which we are at war. If we continue thus obstinate and ungrateful, what can we expect, but that you should in your wrath *give a stretch to the Indian forces under your direction, amounting to thousands, to overtake and destroy us*; or which is still more terrible, that you should withdraw your fleet and armies, and leave us to our own misery; without completing the benevolent task, of restoring to us the rights of the constitution.

We submit—we submit—most puissant colonel of the queen's regiment of light dragoons, and governor of Fort-William in North-Britain! We humbly offer our heads to the tomahawk, and our bellies to the

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bayonet—For who can resist the power of your eloquence? Who can withstand the terror of your arms?

The invitation you have given, *in the consciousness of Christianity, your royal master's clemency, and the honour of soldiery*, we thankfully accept. The blood of the slain—the cries of violated virginity, and slaughtered infants—the never-ceasing groans of our starving brethren now languishing in the jails and prison-ships of New-York, call upon us in vain, whilst your sublime proclamation is sounding in our ears. Forgive us, oh, our country! Forgive us, dear posterity! Forgive us, all ye nations of the world, who are watching our conduct in this important struggle for the liberty and happiness of unborn millions, if we yield implicitly to the fascinating eloquence of one of the representatives of the commons of Great-Britain. Forbear then, thou magnanimous lieutenant-general—forebear to denounce vengeance against us.—Give not *a stretch* to those restorers of constitutional rights—the Indian forces under your direction.—Let not *the messengers of justice and wrath await us in the field: and desolation, famine, and every concomitant horror bar our return* to the allegiance of a prince who has taken so much pains for our reformation. We are *domestic*—we are *industrious*—we are *infirm* and timid—we shall *remain quietly at home, and not remove our cattle, our corn, or forage*, in anxious expectation that you will come *at the head of troops in the full powers of health, discipline, and valour*, and take possession of them for yourselves.

Behold our wives and daughters, our flocks and herds, our goods and chattels, are they not at the mercy of our lord the king, and of his lieutenant-general, member of the house of commons, and governor of Fort-William in North-Britain, &c. &c. &c.

A. B.

C. D.

E. F.

*Cum multis aliis*¹

The “Answer” was written on July 10,² and was published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on August 26.³ On September 3 Washington sent to the Intelligence Committee,

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 146–50.

² It is so dated in the Huntington manuscript.

³ It was copied by the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on August 27.

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of which Hopkinson was a member, handbills announcing "successes to the northward,"¹ and on October 14 Burgoyne surrendered. Thus passed one of the greatest perils that ever menaced the Continental forces—a peril which Francis Hopkinson had the courage to laugh at while it was still a very real danger.

For several months after the publication of "An Answer to General Burgoyne's Proclamation" Hopkinson contributed nothing to the press. The reason for his inactivity is apparent when one remembers that while Burgoyne was advancing through New York from the north, Howe was leading an army from the east into Pennsylvania. The capture of Philadelphia by the British on September 22, 1777, brought the American fleet in the Delaware into the utmost peril, and made Hopkinson's duties as chairman of the Navy Board so arduous that during the fall and winter he had time for nothing else.

On December 17, 1777, the Navy Board, who were then at Bordentown, sent to Washington a letter containing this rather mysterious information: "I have the Pleasure of assuring you that everything goes on with Secrecy and Dispatch, to the Satisfaction of the Artist. We expect he will be enabled in a day or two to try the important Experiment."² From what occurred two weeks later there can be no doubt that the "Artist" was the talented young inventor, Asa Bushnell, and that the work that was being carried on so secretly was the construction of the first floating mines ever launched against the fleet of an enemy.³ These mines were kegs of powder, so constructed that they would explode

¹ Library of Congress, *Washington Papers*, Vol. LV, No. 7074.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. LXIII, No. 8104.

³ Asa Bushnell was also the inventor of a crude submarine. For accounts of his inventions see Dr. James Thatcher, *A Military Journal of the American Revolutionary War*, pp. 146-50 and 452-55; David Humphreys, *An Essay on the*

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when they came in contact with other objects. The kegs, which were constructed in the cooper-shop of Joseph Borden, were sent down the Delaware about January 1, 1778. Unfortunately for the success of the experiment, the British shipping had been drawn up into the docks out of the way of floating ice, and therefore suffered no injury. Apparently the only vessel damaged was a small boat that was destroyed while trying to pick up the first keg that came down the river. The explosion no doubt caused some excitement among the British, but hardly so much as was pictured in a highly colored report of the incident that appeared in the *New Jersey Gazette* on January 21. According to this account, which was probably written by Hopkinson,¹ when more of the dangerous objects came drifting down the stream,

some reported that these kegs were filled with armed rebels; who were to issue forth at dead of night, as the Grecians did of old from their wooden horse at the siege of Troy, and take the city by surprise; asserting that they had seen the points of their bayonets thro' the bung-holes of the kegs.

Others asserted that the kegs were infernal machines constructed by magic to destroy the whole city. The troops, in the greatest consternation, opened a fusillade directed at every floating object, and continued firing until every keg in the river, including a keg of butter that an old market-woman on her way to town had accidentally

Life of the Honourable Major General Putnam, pp. 122-28; *Magazine of American History*, VIII, 296-97; Frank Moore, *Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution*, pp. 209-19; and *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, IV, 303-12.

¹ Mrs. Annie Russell Marble (*Heralds of American Literature*, p. 39) attributes it to him. The account itself contains internal evidence that points to his authorship: It is written in mock heroic, a favorite style of his; it contains three words that he habitually used, "thro'," "shews," and "whilst"; and it calls the incident "The Battle of the Kegs."

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dropped overboard, was destroyed. After winning this mighty victory, General Howe sent a fast sailing vessel to England to report his triumph.

On February 11 the *Pennsylvania Ledger* republished the account that had appeared in the *New Jersey Gazette*, along with a more sober and no doubt more accurate account of its own:

The case was, that on the 5th ult. a barrel of an odd appearance came floating down the Delaware, opposite the town, and attracted the attention of some boys, who went in pursuit of it, and had scarcely got possession of it, when it blew up, and either killed or injured one or more of them very much: So far the matter was serious, and the fellow who invented the mischief, may quit his conscience of the murder, or injury done to the lads, as well as he can. Some days after a few others of much the same appearance, and some in the form of buoys, came floating in like manner, and a few guns were, we believe, fired at them from some of the transports lying alongside the wharf;—other than this, no notice was taken of them except indeed by our author, whose imagination, perhaps as fertile as his invention, realized to himself, in the phrenzy of his enthusiasm, the matters he has set forth.

Then, on March 4, Hopkinson published in the *Pennsylvanian Packet* his famous ballad, "The Battle of the Kegs."

Gallants attend and hear a friend,
Trill forth harmonious ditty,
Strange things I'll tell which late befel
In Philadelphia city.

'Twas early day, as poets say,
Just when the sun was rising,
A soldier stood on a log of wood,
And saw a thing surprising.

As in a maze he stood to gaze,
The truth can't be denied, sir,
He spied a score of kegs or more
Come floating down the tide, sir.

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A sailor too in jerkin blue,
This strange appearance viewing,
First damn'd his eyes, in great surprise,
Then said, "Some mischief's brewing.

"These kegs, I'm told, the rebels hold,
Pack'd up like pickling herring;
And they're come down t'attack the town,
In this new way of ferrying."

The soldier flew, the sailor too,
And scar'd almost to death, sir,
Wore out their shoes, to spread the news,
And ran till out of breath, sir.

Now up and down throughout the town,
Most frantic scenes were acted;
And some ran here, and others there,
Like men almost distracted.

Some fire cry'd, which some denied,
But said the earth had quaked;
And girls and boys, with hideous noise,
Ran thro' the streets half naked.

Sir William, he, snug as a flea,
Lay all this time a snoring,
Nor dream'd of harm as he lay warm,
In bed with Mrs. L—g.

Now in a fright, he starts upright,
Awak'd by such a clatter;
He rubs both eyes, and boldly cries,
"For God's sake, what's the matter?"

At his bed-side he then espy'd,
Sir Erskine at command, sir,
Upon one foot, he had one boot,
And th' other in his hand, sir.

"Arise, arise," Sir Erskine cries,
"The rebels—more's the pity,

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Without a boat are all afloat,
And rang'd before the city.

"The motley crew, in vessels new,
With Satan for their guide, sir,
Pack'd up in bags, or wooden kegs,
Come driving down the tide, sir.

"Therefore prepare for bloody war,
These kegs must all be routed,
Or surely we despised shall be,
And British courage doubted."

The royal band, now ready stand
All rang'd in dread array, sir,
With stomach stout to see it out,
And make a bloody day, sir.

The cannons roar from shore to shore,
The small arms make a rattle;
Since wars began I'm sure no man
E'er saw so strange a battle.

The rebel dales, the rebel vales,
With rebel trees surrounded;
The distant wood, the hills and floods,
With rebel echoes sounded.

The fish below swam to and fro,
Attack'd from ev'ry quarter;
"Why sure," thought they, "the devil's to pay,
'Mongst folks above the water."

The kegs, 'tis said, tho' strongly made,
Of rebel staves and hoops, sir,
Could not oppose their powerful foes,
The conqu'ring British troops, sir.

From morn to night these men of might
Display'd amazing courage;
And when the sun was fairly down,
Retir'd to sup their porridge.

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An hundred men with each a pen,
Or more, upon my word, sir,
It is most true would be too few,
Their valour to record, sir.

Such feats did they perform that day,
Against these wicked kegs, sir,
That years to come, if they get home,
They'll make their boasts and brags, sir.¹

This ballad became one of the most popular songs of the Revolution. It was set to music—possibly by Hopkinson himself—and was sung by the soldiers at the front.² It was republished as a pamphlet³ and as a broadside.⁴ Hopkinson himself was evidently pleased with the song, for he sent a copy of it in his own handwriting to Franklin.⁵ Although it makes no pretension to literary finish, it has an infectious rhyme and rhythm, a forceful and vigorous style, and a trenchant humor, which have made it the most widely known of all Hopkinson's writings. Its continued popularity is indicated by the fact that it was reprinted in a handsome illustrated edition by the Oakwood Press, of Philadelphia, in 1866.

The Loyalists, to whom Hopkinson paid his respects in "Two Letters," were not only a source of irritation to the patriots, but of great danger as well. They were far more

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 169-73.

² Dr. James Thatcher, *op. cit.*, has this entry for July 10, 1780: "Our drums and fifes afforded us a favorite amusement till evening, when we were delighted with the song composed by Mr. Hopkinson called the 'Battle of the Kegs' sung in the best style by a number of gentlemen."

³ By B. Towne at Philadelphia in 1779.

⁴ The Boston Public Library has two broadsides, both undated: one is without illustration and the other is embellished with a crude picture. The American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, Mass., has two copies of the second.

⁵ This copy is now in the American Philosophical Society, *Franklin Papers*, LI, 95.

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numerous than the British; indeed, in some counties they were more numerous than the Whigs. By spying on the American armies, plundering the American stores, furnishing supplies to the British, counterfeiting the Continental currency, engineering wholesale desertion from the patriot army, and spreading false reports and disquieting rumors, they all but destroyed the American morale.

One of the leaders of Tory activities in Pennsylvania was a wealthy Philadelphian named Joseph Galloway. In his earlier days he had shown a tendency to resist British aggression, by assisting Franklin in his fight against the proprietaries; but in the First Continental Congress, of which he was a member, he was one of the leaders in the fight against independence. From the beginning of the war he not only favored the British, but assisted them with information and advice. When Howe invaded New Jersey in the fall of 1776, Galloway visited the British camp and received a certificate of loyalty to the Crown. To prove his zeal, he planned "some daring enterprises, which might have been terrible blows to the patriots had General Howe allowed them to be executed. One of Galloway's plans was to seize the patriot governor, council and assembly of New Jersey; and he also prepared a plan for capturing the Continental Congress."¹ When the British captured Philadelphia, Galloway was rewarded for his services by being appointed superintendent of police, superintendent of the port, and custodian of prohibited articles. In these offices, which made him head of the civil government of the city, he conducted himself in such a manner that he found it advisable in 1778 to abandon his two-hundred-thousand-dollar estate and accompany his noble friend, General Howe, to England.

¹ Sidney George Fisher, *The Struggle for Independence*, I, 257-58.

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To this eminent Loyalist, Francis Hopkinson on January 21, 1778, addressed a letter that was notably free from the humor that enlivened the prose account of "The Battle of the Kegs," published on the same day.¹ In it he reproached Galloway for his treachery to the Americans, for his subserviency to the British, and in particular for his treatment of American prisoners of war;² and predicted his speedy degradation from his high office and eternal obloquy as a traitor. The opening paragraph will serve to illustrate the style of this spirited epistle:

Now that you have gained the summit of your ambitious hopes, the reward of your forfeited honour, that dear bought gratification, to obtain which you have given your name to infamy, and your soul to perdition—now that you sit in Philadelphia, the *nominal* governor of Pennsylvania, give me leave to address a few words of truth to your corrupted heart. Retire for a moment from the avocations and honours of your new superintendency, and review the steps by which you have mounted the stage of power—steps reeking with the blood of your innocent country.

Some time in January, 1778, Hopkinson wrote, under the rather unilluminating title "A Letter to the Editor of the New Jersey Gazette," a caustic little essay on wartime propaganda.³ In this letter he complained that the British had acquired undue advantage through the false reports about the war that they had spread in both Europe and America. These false reports had been circulated in pam-

¹ "A Letter to Joseph Galloway" appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, which at that time was printed in Lancaster. It is published in *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 127-31.

² Hopkinson asserts that American prisoners confined in the State House at Philadelphia actually died of starvation.

³ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 142-45. The letter is dated in *The Miscellaneous Essays*, and in the Huntington manuscript, where it is signed "Machia-vel." I have never been able to find it in the press, though I have carefully examined a complete file of the *New Jersey Gazette* for 1778 and also the Philadelphia papers of that year.

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phlets, in the messages and reports of the British commanders, and particularly in the Tory newspapers of New York and Philadelphia, which were edited under the direction of "liars general."¹ To counteract the influence of these propagandists Hopkinson recommended that Congress at once establish "lying offices" in New York and Philadelphia, and publish the following advertisement:

WANTED, for the continental service, a person well qualified for the office of *liar general* to the United States: Also three assistants or *petit-liars*, in said office. Those who are willing and able to serve their country in this department are requested to send their names to . . . on or before the first day of March next.

As it is supposed there may be a number of persons well versed in this art amongst the *tories*, free pardon and good encouragement will be given to such as will exert their lying faculties in favour of their country.

N.B. Specimens of ability will be required of the candidates.

Having paid his respects to the British and Loyalists in "The Battle of the Kegs" and in the letters addressed to Joseph Galloway and the editor of the *New Jersey Gazette*, Hopkinson next wrote two songs for the encouragement of the Americans.

The first, entitled "A Camp Ballad," runs as follows:

Make room, oh! ye kingdoms in hist'ry renowned
Whose arms have in battle with glory been crown'd,
Make room for America, another great nation,
Arises to claim in your council a station.

Her sons fought for freedom, and by their own brav'ry
Have rescued themselves from the shackles of slav'ry.
America's free, and tho' Britain abhor'd it,
Yet fame a new volume prepares to record it.

¹ The Tory papers published in New York were the *Royal Gazette* (ed., James Rivington) and the *New York Mercury* (ed., Hugh Gaine); those of Philadelphia were the *Pennsylvania Ledger* (ed., James Humphreys) and the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* (ed., Benjamin Towne). Hopkinson suggested that the Philadelphia "liar general" was Joseph Galloway.

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Fair freedom in Briton her throne had erected,
But her sons growing venal, and she disrespected,
The goddess offended forsook the base nation,
And fix'd on our mountains a more honour'd station.

With glory immortal she here sits enthron'd,
Nor fears the vain vengeance of Britain disown'd,
Whilst Washington guards her with heroes surrounded,
Her foes shall with shameful defeat be confounded.

To arms then, to arms, 'tis fair freedom invites us;
The trumpet shrill sounding to battle excites us;
The banners of virtue unfurl'd, shall wave o'er us,
Our hero lead on, and the foe fly before us.

On Heav'n and Washington placing reliance,
We'll meet the bold Briton, and bid him defiance:
Our cause we'll support, for 'tis just and 'tis glorious;
When men fight for freedom they must be victorious.¹

"A Camp Ballad" first appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of April 4, 1778, over the signature "Bob Jingle." It evidently attained considerable popularity, for it was copied by the *Pennsylvania Packet* on April 8, and by the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* on June 30. That it was sung to a popular air is indicated by the fact that in the *Post* it bears the title, "A Song to the Tune of Peperell and Pumpkinville People."

In the *Packet* of April 8 appeared also the second song, entitled "The Toast."

'Tis Washington's health—fill a bumper around,
For he is our glory and pride;
Our arms shall in battle with conquest be crown'd,
Whilst virtue and he's on our side.

'Tis Washington's health—and cannons should roar,
And trumpets the truth should proclaim;
There cannot be found, search the world all o'er,
His equal in virtue and fame.

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 174-75.

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'Tis Washington's health—our hero to bless,
May heav'n look graciously down:
Oh! long may he live our hearts to possess,
And freedom still call him her own.¹

In his next contribution to the press Hopkinson returned to the political allegory, a form that he had already used in *A Pretty Story*. This time, however, he employed verse instead of prose as a medium. The poem, "Date Obolum Bellesario,"² which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on April 22, 1778, begins as follows:

As I travell'd o'er the plain,
About the close of day,
I chanc'd to wander in a lane,
A lane of mire and clay.

'Twas there a dirty drab I saw,
All seated on the ground,
With oaken staff and hat of straw,
And tatters hanging round.

At my approach she heav'd a sigh,
And due obeisance paid,
First wip'd a tear from either eye,
Then her petition made.

"A wretch forlorn, kind sir, you see,
That begs from door to door;
Oh! stop and give for charity,
A penny to the poor!

"Tho' now in tatters I appear,
Yet know the time hath been,
When I partook the world's good cheer,
And better days have seen."³

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 176. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 164-68.

³ This poem may have been written in 1777. In the collected works and in the Huntington manuscript, in both of which the poems are arranged for the most part in chronological order, it comes first in a group that has the general heading "Political Ballads Written in the Year 1777," and just before "The

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The beggar then told her story, which is too long to be given here in full. She had once had riches and honor, a host of servants, and an illustrious family of sons and daughters. All went well until George, her youngest son, usurped his mother's authority, destroyed the liberty of her dependents, and tried to ravish her ward, an "orphan child," who was heir to great possessions. The young lady, on discovering George's evil designs, fled from the home of her guardian. George then sent a mighty force to bring the fugitive back; but her own household, led by "a god-like hero," came to her assistance, and not only preserved her honor, but reduced George and his family to poverty and disgrace.¹

The second of the manuscript volumes owned by the Edward E. Huntington Library contains a number of Revolutionary songs that are not included in Hopkinson's published works. The first of these, which bears the title "A Ballad,"² was probably written not long after the signing of the treaty of alliance between France and America on February 6, 1778. It consists of ten stanzas, of which the most interesting are given here:³

When the Cares of the Day
Are all vanish'd away,
And the Toils of dull Business are done,

Battle of the Kegs," which is known to have been written early in 1778. The date given in the heading is not a slip, for in the Huntington manuscript it is corrected from "1778" to "1777."

¹ The poem was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* on July 6. Hopkinson sent to Franklin a handwritten copy, which is preserved in the *Franklin Papers*, LI, 95, owned by the American Philosophical Society.

² In C. R. Hildeburn, *Issues of the Press of Pennsylvania*, "A Ballad" is listed as a song published by B. Towne in 1779, but I have never found it in published form. With regard to the source of the bibliographer's information, Mr. Bunford Samuel says: "Hildeburn gives no reference to the library containing this poem, and therefore never saw it himself, but probably took the title from an advertisement."

³ The second, third, and eighth are omitted.

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O'er a full flowing Bowl
We enliven the Soul,
And let Trouble go down with the Sun.
.....

Let the Foe strive in vain
A Conquest to gain,
To make themselves Lords of our Land;
We've nothing to fear
Whilst Washington's near,
Whilst Washington holds the Command.

Our Hero shall live
And Liberty give
To Millions in Ages to come;
Since he takes the Field,
The proud Briton must yield
And at last return shamefully home.

Our Cause to advance
The Monarch of France
In friendly Alliance hath join'd;
Oh great be his Fame;
Henceforth is his Name
The Friend of the Rights of Mankind.

May the Tories enjoy
Without any Alloy
The Slav'ry on us they would bring;
In Sorrow and Care
Till Death let them wear
The Chains of that Tyrant their King.
.....

A Curse on all Traitors
And vile Speculators
May the Halter their Destiny be;
Our Hearts are all sound,
And this Song shall go round,
In spite of them all we'll be free.

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Let's drink and be gay
Drive Sorrow away,
Whilst Friendship enlivens our Joys;
Should our Bowl want Supply
In one Chorus we'll cry
Let's fill it again, my brave Boys!

"A Ballad," which is the first poem in the volume, is followed by "A Tory Ballad," another unpublished song.

Come cheer up my Lads push the Bottle about,
Tho' the Whigs are all in & the Tories all out,
We'll soon alter the Case & turn things Topsey turvey
And every Whig shall look sneaking and scurvey.

Our mighty Exploits shall be famed in Story,
Sing Tantarara, and sing Tory Rory!

Here's a Health to King George, our Great Lord & Master
May he load us with Taxes still thicker & faster;
If he takes all we have 'tis no more than his due,
For we are his Servants most faithful & true.

Our mighty Exploits &c. &c.

Here's a Health to Lord Howe, may he still prove victorious;
To be conquer'd by him would be happy & glorious;
Let him come when he will, we'll accept of his Pardon
And then for the Whigs we will not care one Farthing.¹

Our mighty Exploits &c. &c.

A Plague on the Congress & all who befriend 'em
E'en as they deserve, may the Halter soon end 'em;
They've so little Sense, believe what I sing,
They'd rather be Free-men than Slaves to a King.

Our mighty Exploits &c. &c.

On May 6, 1778, Hopkinson published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* a metrical version of Aesop's fable "The Birds, the Beasts, and the Bat."² The moral of this story

¹ This appears to refer to General William Howe. It if does, it was written before his departure for England in June, 1778.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 177-80.

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of the bat that tried to take both sides in a war between the birds and beasts is so obvious that in *The Occasional Writings* the author does not take the trouble to supply it. In the *Packet*, however, the allegory ends with these lines:

*'Mongst us too many, like the Bat,
Inclin'd to this side or to that
As in'trest leads—or wait to see
Which party will the strongest be.
Let such old Aesop's fable take
And conscience th' application make¹*

Hopkinson served as treasurer of loans from July, 1778, to July, 1781. In July, 1779, he was appointed judge of admiralty. To administer the two offices he was obliged, as he himself said, "to use much industry and attention."² From June, 1780, to July, 1781, he was carrying on a bitter quarrel with the Board of Treasury, and in December, 1780, he was impeached for corruption of office. As a result of his varied activities and numerous difficulties, his literary output from the summer of 1778 to the autumn of 1781 was slight.

In July, 1779, William Tryon, the last royal governor of New York, led a punitive expedition into Connecticut, where he plundered several towns and incidentally antagonized a great many Loyalists who suffered along with the Whigs. When his forces, which were convoyed by a fleet under Sir George Collier, landed near New Haven, the two commanders issued an "address" to the people, very similar in form and spirit to Burgoyne's famous proclamation. Although this document was apparently intended to conciliate the rebellious Colonists, it was so tactlessly

¹ In the Huntington manuscript the poem ends with this couplet:

"May we not think when Aesop penn'd this Story
He had seen something like a modern Tory?"

² See p. 237.

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phrased that it served only to increase their hostility. It abused the Americans as rebels and traitors, and praised the British for their clemency and mercy. "The existence of a single habitation on your defenceless coast," said Tryon, the famous plunderer, "ought to be a constant reproof to your ingratitude." It urged them to submit to the King, but threatened them with dire punishment if they refused.¹ This notable example of unconscious humor did not escape the eye of Hopkinson, who on July 22 published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* "The Most Gracious Address of Admiral Collier and General Tryon to the People of Connecticut,"² which, as he himself said, was "in substance a just translation throughout" of the original proclamation. The original "Address" ends with these lines, which do not appear in Hopkinson's collected works:

As 'twill be dark thro'out the land,
Before this letter gets to hand;
For your convenience we propose,
And out of love sincere—God knows,
To fire some houses—three or four—
And they perhaps may kindle more:
That by so great a blaze of light,
You may see our intentions right,
And clearly read, tho' it be night.

The last of Hopkinson's Revolutionary ballads is a group of four songs entitled *A Tory Medley*, which he published as a broadside in 1780.³ The "Medley" begins with a song of four stanzas set to the tune of "The World Is a Well Furnish'd Table":

¹ See George Bancroft, *History of the United States*, V, 329-31, and Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of the Loyalists*, II, 364-66.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 181-83.

³ The only copy of this broadside that I have found is in the Ridgway Library. It is unsigned and undated, but the verses appear in the Huntington manuscript under the title, "A Tory Medley Written in the Year 1780"

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Three Tories, in very foul Weather,
Assembled in great Consternation,
To lay their wise Noddles together
And settle th' Affairs of the Nation.

The first, by Profession a Broker,
Impertinent, noisy, and vain,
Without Wit would be fain thought a Joker,
And vended hard Money for Gain.

The second, a Printer by Trade,
Who dealt in hard Words with the Scholars;
And ev'ry vile Pamphlet he made
He sold off at Ten paper Dollars.

The third was a Quaker demure,
Whose Religion was keeping his Hat on;
He sigh'd and he groan'd, to be sure,
But his heart was as wicked as Satan.¹

After the characters have been thus introduced, each of them sings a song. The Broker's song, set to the tune of "The Hosier's Ghost," opens with these stanzas:

Tories, Tories, why despairing?
Never let your Courage fail,
Let us still be bold and daring,
And our Cause may yet prevail;
Tho' the Rebels now oppress us,
Boasting mighty Things they do,
Let them not too much distress us—
Curse on all the motley Crew!

Trusting in their french [*sic*]² Alliance,
Still they hope their Point to gain;
Still they bid our King Defiance,
And by force the War maintain.

¹ According to Hildeburn, "The Characters are 'The Broker,' William Smith; 'The Printer,' James Rivington; and 'The Quaker,' Samuel Rhodes Fisher."

² The quotations were copied from the Huntington manuscript.

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Tho' we cannot quite suppress them,
We should not our Hopes resign,
Secret Arts may yet distress them
And confound their bold Design.

In the third stanza he boasts that he has weakened the Americans by helping to degrade their currency; and in the fourth he announces that he must hurry away to meet a Jew who is assisting him in his patriotic labors.

Next, the Printer, in a song to the tune of "God Save the King," curses the rebels, praises the Tories, and laments the failure of the British. After describing the dissipations of Howe in a rather racy stanza, the singer continues:

Burgoyne with Thousands came
In hopes of Wealth & Fame,
What hath he done?
At *Saratoga* he
Had the Disgrace to see
Each Soldier manfully
Lay down his Gun.

What shall we Tories do
If thus the rebel Crew
Rise, whilst we fall?
Since they have France & Spain
To help their Cause to gain,
Is not our Strife in vain—
Curse on them all!

In conclusion, the Quaker, in a song set to the tune of "The Babes in the Wood," laments the persecution he has suffered because a "harmless little note" that he wrote to the British fell into the hands of those "sons of Belial," the rebels. The song ends with these reflections upon the policy of Howe:

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Now such Disgrace had ne'er been brought
Our Tory Tribes upon,
Had but friend *Howe* with Vigour wrought
For our Sal—va—ti—on.

When first he touch'd our friendly Shores
And Pow'r was in his hand,
He Rebels should have hang'd by Scores
And purg'd this guilty Land.

But for our Sins the wicked Crew
Of Rebels will prevail.
Therefore we've nothing now to do
But for to weep & wail.

Besides the "Tory Medley," Hopkinson wrote during the year 1780 one other bit of verse, an obituary poem, "In Memory of Mr. James Bremner."¹ Bremner, who died in September, had probably been Hopkinson's instructor in music;² at any rate, a mutual interest in music had made them friends. The five stanzas that Hopkinson dedicated to the memory of the teacher are too conventional to merit discussion, but the fact that he found time during these busy and anxious days to write them is evidence of the fineness of his feeling.

An amusing trait of the inhabitants of the City of Brotherly Love was their fondness for carrying on private quarrels in the newspapers. No matter how trivial the subject of dispute, the contestants rushed into print with statements, denials, charges, and countercharges. If the editor refused to print their letters, they bought advertising space in which to publish them,³ or issued them as pamphlets. This delight in controversy probably served a

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 184.

² See Mr. O. G. Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson*, p. 29.

³ See the account on pp. 171-72 of the quarrel between Joseph Borden and Nathaniel Lewis.

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useful purpose in the struggle against England, but when it led to dissension among the Americans themselves, it became a dangerous source of amusement. Such a family quarrel was disturbing the peace of the city during the latter part of the year 1780. In 1777 Hopkinson's brother-in-law, Dr. John Morgan, had lost his position as head of the medical department of the army, after a quarrel with some of his associates. One of his chief opponents had been Dr. William Shippen, one of his colleagues on the faculty of the Medical College. After Morgan's retirement he and Shippen continued their controversy in a newspaper war, which lasted for three years and was carried on with such violence that the letters of the principals and their partisans finally monopolized most of the space in the newspapers. Hopkinson was wise enough to see that such a quarrel brought no credit to either of the contestants, and he therefore decided that he would try to bring it to an end. Accordingly, on December 23, 1780, he published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* "A Proposal for Establishing a High Court of Honour,"¹ whose duty it should be to try all personal quarrels, and thus restore the newspapers "to their original design, and make them the vehicles of intelligence, not the common sewers of scandal." Near the end of his "Proposal" he inserted for the use of those who desired to appeal to the High Court of Honour a "declaration" that burlesqued without much exaggeration the kind of letters that had been made familiar by the Morgan-Shippen quarrel:

KNOW ALL MEN, by these presents, that I, A. B. of the city of Philadelphia ——— do announce, pronounce, attest, and declare, that my friend and fellow citizen C. D. of the same city . . . is a rogue, a rascal, a villain, a thief, and a scoundrel: that he is a tory, a traitor, a

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 151-58.

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conspirator, and a rebel: That he is a forestaller, a regrator, a monopolizer, a speculator, and a depreciator: That he is a backbiter, a slanderer, a calumniator, and a liar. That he is a mean, dirty, stinking, sniveling, sneaking, pimping, pocket-picking d—d son of a bitch. And I do further declare, that all and every of the above appellations are intended, and ought to be taken, construed, and understood *in the most opprobrious sense of the words.*

The effect of the "Proposal," according to Hopkinson, was to put "an immediate end to that disagreeable altercation."

When Hopkinson published his "Proposal for Establishing a High Court of Honour," his relations with his own associates were not entirely amicable, for his controversy with the Board of Treasury was then at its height and his impeachment trial was in progress. In his own quarrels, however, he employed ridicule instead of abuse. The second volume of the Huntington manuscript contains a long fable in verse, which tells the story of a cat that was persecuted by a cur and a skunk. The title and one or two pages are missing, but the five pages that remain include enough of the fable to show that it is Hopkinson's account of his own impeachment. A cur, according to the story, was very jealous of a cat because she was allowed to stay in the house during the winter, while he was turned out in the cold. While reflecting on his hard fate, he met a skunk, who hated him "like the Devil," but who was willing to help him because they both detested the cat more than they did each other. The skunk, who was a lawyer, asserted that the best way to injure an enemy is to bring charges against him in court. The cur agreed to try this method, and the two, after much labor, trumped up three charges against the cat: that she had cast a watchful eye upon a pan of milk, that she had killed a mouse in the parlor, and that she had eaten some meat that had been given to her. In the trial the cat confessed that she had

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done the things of which she was accused, but showed so conclusively that these acts are the natural functions of a cat that she was at once acquitted. When this conspiracy against the cat failed, the skunk and cur flew at each other.

Now Skunk [*sic*] with Rage & Fury burn'd
And Chance² ran mad out right;
And each upon the other turn'd
The Venom of his Spite.
"And is it thus," cry'd Skunk, "have I come down,
To stink and poison all the Town;
And shall a Cat superior rise
To all my Tricks, to all my Lies?—
Alas, Alas! what now avail
My plodding Head or stinking Tail?
But 'tis your Fault, you lazy Cur
For whilst I strove with Might & Main,
The Point to gain,
You would not stir,
You should have sworn thro' thick & thin
To ruin Puss,
For, when such Business you begin,
'Tis vain to mince the matter thus!"
"You do me Wrong," quoth Chance, "you know
I swore as far as Oaths would go;
You and your cursed Arts I hate
I wish your Throat with Sulphur crammed
A Rope
I hope
Will be your Fate,
You are a Lawyer!—You be damned!"

This, of course, is pure doggerel, but it is rather good-natured doggerel. It is interesting chiefly because it shows that Hopkinson kept his poise when his personal affairs were at their worst, just as he had kept his poise when his country's fortunes were at their lowest ebb.

² This, for some reason, is the name given to the cur.

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Hopkinson was evidently pleased with his "Proposal for Establishing a High Court of Honour," for in April, 1781, he revived the idea in "A Suit in the High Court of Honour."¹ In this suit the plaintiff was Hopkinson, the defendant his friend, Judge James Wilson, and the subject of dispute a book which the latter had borrowed and failed to return. The account begins with a "declaration," in which the plaintiff chastises the defendant for his delinquency by loading him with many opprobrious epithets. This is followed by a statement of the defendant, who denies his guilt and demands proof; and this by the plaintiff's bill of particulars, an amusing document in mongrel Latin. After writing the skit, Hopkinson sent it to Wilson's house, where it was received by a maid, who put it behind a mirror in the parlor to await the Judge's return from court. An hour or so later an insane man, who lived in the neighborhood, wandered into the parlor and found the paper, which he carried off. As soon as he had read it, the lunatic, whose mind was full of notions of plots and conspiracies, rushed to the Supreme Court, where Hopkinson and Wilson were attending an important trial, and interrupted the proceedings by announcing that he had discovered important evidence in the case being tried, and a plot against the state and the Judge of Admiralty. The Chief Justice took the papers and was about to read them aloud when Hopkinson forced his way to him and rescued the document.

James Rivington, publisher of the *Royal Gazette*, and "King's Printer for New York," was the most conspicuous of the Tory editors in America. While the British prospects were favorable, he attacked the Whigs with much virulence, but after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, he began to show a disposition to make peace with the

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 112-18.

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victors.¹ Hopkinson indicated his lack of confidence in this eleventh-hour repentance by publishing in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on November 10, 1781, an "Advertisement"² announcing Rivington's intention to leave the country, and advertising his stock at public auction. The following are a few of the articles mentioned in the itemized list of the printer's effects:

BOOKS

The Right of Great Britain to the Dominion of the Sea—a poetical Fiction.

The State of Great Britain in October 1760 and October 1781, compared and contrasted.

The Conquest of the four Southern rebel Colonies, with Notes critical and explanatory by *Earl Cornwallis*.

Tears of Repentance: or, the present state of the loyal Refugees in New York, and elsewhere.

The Political Liar: a weekly Paper, published by the Subscriber, bound in Volumes.

MAPS AND PRINTS

An elegant Map of the British empire in North America, upon a very small scale.

The Battle of Saratoga, and *the Surrender at York*; two elegant Prints, cut in Copper, and dedicated to the King.

PHILOSOPHICAL APPARATUS

Multiplying Glasses; whereby the numbers of an Enemy may be greatly increased to cover the disgrace of a Defeat, or enhance the glory of a Victory.

Pocket glasses for short-sighted Politicians.

¹ It has been asserted that Rivington actually turned traitor to the British and became an American spy. Some probability is given to this story by the fact that he was allowed to continue the publication of his paper after the British evacuation of New York. See Benson J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, II, 591.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 159-69.

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PATENT MEDICINES

Cordial Drops for low spirits, prepared for the special use of the Honorable the *Board of loyal Refugees* at New York.

Anodyne Elixir, for quieting Fears and Apprehensions: very necessary for *Tories* in all parts of America.

On November 20 Hopkinson published in the *Packet* what purported to be a letter from Rivington¹ protesting against the injustice done him by the "Advertisement." This letter asserts that the author has watched the heroic struggles of the patriots "with astonishment and secret admiration." He has remained among the British, it is true, but only for the purpose of extorting money from them, which he now hopes to spend among their conquerors. All the while he has helped the Americans by fabricating lies to deceive the English. As a poor printer he has been obliged to publish "Tory news, Tory lies, and Tory essays," but this fact should not be held against him since he has never refused to print Whig news, lies, and essays. Once—to save himself from a mob—he made a public declaration of his attachment to the American cause. After the battle of Saratoga and again after the surrender of Cornwallis, he felt the sacred flame of liberty glowing in his breast. Therefore he begs Congress to pardon his past offenses, and to allow him to employ his "eminent abilities in the art of political deviation from the truth" in the support of the American cause.

On December 19, 1781, this news item appeared in the *Freeman's Journal*:

On Tuesday evening of the 11th inst. his Excellency the Minister of France, who embraces every opportunity to manifest his respect to the worthies of America, and politeness to its inhabitants, entertained his Excellency General Washington, and his lady, the lady of General

¹ "A Reply in Mr. Rivington's Own Style," *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 170-77.

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Greene, and a very polite circle of gentlemen and ladies, with an elegant Concert, in which the following ORATORIO, composed and set to music by a gentleman whose taste in the polite arts is well known, was introduced and afforded the most sensible pleasure. *The TEMPLE OF MINERVA: An ORATORIAL ENTERTAINMENT.*

Mr. Sonneck has described in a very entertaining manner the labors he performed in identifying the author of this production. From the beginning he believed Hopkinson to be the gentleman of taste mentioned in the newspaper account; the signature "H" on a reprint of the libretto confirmed his belief; but complete evidence was lacking until he examined Mrs. Shinn's collection, and in it found the manuscript of the libretto.¹

In fact, this manuscript contains two versions of the libretto. The first, of which part is lost² and the rest crossed out, bears the title "The Temple of Minerva: An Oratorial Entertainment performed at the Hotel of the Minister of France, February, 1781." The second has the same title, but contains a statement that the entertainment was given in November, 1781. Since neither of these dates is the one mentioned by the *Freeman's Journal*, it is evident that the performance was twice postponed. When he prepared the second version, the author made a few slight changes in phraseology and arrangement, and completely revised one of the solos; but in general the differences between the two versions are negligible.

"The Temple of Minerva" is very simple in plan; it contains two scenes in which four characters appear. In the first scene the Genius of America, the Genius of France, and the Priest of Minerva beseech the goddess to reveal the

¹ Now in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

² Two pages of the manuscript, containing the conclusion of "The Temple of Minerva" and the beginning of the fable of the cur, skunk, and cat, are missing.

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destiny of America; in the second, Minerva predicts a glorious future for the two allies. All the characters have solo parts; the Genius of America and the Genius of France sing a duet; the three mortals render a trio; and a number of persons, whose identity is not revealed by the libretto, close the performance with a chorus. The songs themselves hardly rise above the commonplace; witness the lines from the chorus describing the appearance on the field of the army of France:

From the friendly Shores of France
See the martial Troops advance,
With Columbia's Sons unite
And share the Dangers of the Fight.
Equal Heroes of the Day,
Equal Honours to them pay.

In his monograph on Hopkinson, Mr. Sonneck expressed the opinion that "The Temple of Minerva" may be considered "our first attempt at 'grand opera,'"¹ but later, in a conversation with the author, he said that further study had convinced him that the piece was given without dramatic action, and therefore that it should not be called an operatic entertainment, but rather a dramatic allegorical cantata.

In this same conversation Mr. Sonneck called attention to the interesting resemblance between the chorus of "The Temple of Minerva" and the famous patriotic song, "Hail Columbia," written by Joseph Hopkinson, son of Francis, in 1798. The stanzas in which this resemblance is most marked are the last of the chorus and the third of "Hail Columbia":

¹ Sonneck, *op. cit.*, p. III.

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THE TEMPLE OF MINERVA

Fill the golden Trump of Fame,
Thro' the World his Worth proclaim;
Let Rocks & Hills & Vales resound,
He comes—he comes, with Conquest crown'd.
Hail Columbia's God-like Son!
Hail the glorious *Washington!*

HAIL COLUMBIA

Sound, sound the trump of fame!
Let Washington's great name
 Ring through the world with loud applause; [*repeat*]
Let every clime to freedom dear
Listen with a joyful ear.
 With equal skill, with steady power,
 He governs in the fearful hour
 Of horrid war, or guides with ease
 The happier time of honest peace.

On January 5, 1782, James Rivington published in the *Royal Gazette* the libretto of "The Temple of Minerva," along with a very gross parody entitled "The Temple of Cloacina," which had been sent to him by a Philadelphia contributor. This travesty, the general nature of which is indicated by the title, is thus described by the editor of the *Pennsylvania Packet*, who on January 17 published a letter from Hopkinson replying to the parodist:

The Printer hopes the Author will excuse him for not inserting the Extract from the New York paper alluded to. It is a parody on a late entertainment called The Temple of Minerva: but the extreme scurrility and indecency of the performance renders the publication improper anywhere except in the Royal Gazette of New York.

This announcement takes high moral ground, but its effect is somewhat weakened by the fact that Hopkinson's answer, which describes the circumstances under which

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the writer first saw the parody, is almost as "Rabelaisian"¹ as the parody itself.

On January 26 Hopkinson was attacked in the *Royal Gazette* by both the author of the parody and Rivington. The former had nothing noteworthy to say, but the latter scored rather heavily on his adversary by republishing Hopkinson's letter to the *Packet*, with various corrections and emendations that made the author appear to be a fool.

On February 9 Hopkinson ended the contest by announcing that he did not think it necessary to pursue the subject further. "If my antagonist chuses to skulk behind a dunghill, the laws of literary war do not call upon me to follow him into all the filth he is willing to wade through." Then follows this rather surprising statement addressed directly to his opponent:

But I have a more serious reason in avoiding *you* in particular as an antagonist. *A sense of gratitude for former favours and a still subsisting friendship on my part*, render the combat altogether unequal. If you have not conducted yourself according to my opinion of what is right and honourable, I can only be sorry for it, and regret that you have not employed the eminent abilities I know you to possess in a manner more worthy of yourself than them.²

With these words, which admirably illustrate the good humor and good sense of the writer, the story of Hopkinson's part in the Revolution may be brought to a close. He continued to write very industriously during the interval between the surrender of Cornwallis and the signing of the treaty of peace, but since his writings of this period

¹ This is the name applied to it by Mrs. Annie Russell Marble, who first discovered the correspondence. See her article in the *New England Magazine*, XXVII, 296.

² This appeared in the *Packet* under the signature "F. H."; the letter of January 17, in the same paper, was signed "A. B." "The Temple of Cloacina" is signed "M. G.," but the letter written by the author of the parody on January 26 is signed "M. C." If, as seems probable, the first signature is a misprint, one wonders whether Hopkinson's opponent could have been Matthew Clarkson.

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do not deal directly with the war, they may properly be discussed in a later chapter.

During the Revolution Hopkinson led a very busy life. Throughout the entire period of the war, he was engaged in official duties that required much ability and great industry, but in spite of these duties he found time to do a very considerable amount of writing. In contributions to the press and in pamphlets in verse and prose, he ridiculed the British and encouraged the Americans, and thus contributed materially to the final victory of his country. These writings are in general superior to his earlier works, and some of them have sufficient merit to give their author a place among the leading American writers of his day.

CHAPTER VIII

LATER PROFESSIONAL AND PRIVATE LIFE

Francis Hopkinson's later official life was eventful, but quite free from such dramatic incidents as the "Battle of the Kegs," the Bordentown raid, and the impeachment trial. Of his work as judge of admiralty and judge of the High Court of Errors and Appeals many records survive, but most of these records may be dismissed briefly since they are concerned with matters of everyday office routine.

When Hopkinson became judge of admiralty, the boundaries of the jurisdiction of his court were not very clearly defined. In March, 1780, he wrote a letter to the Pennsylvania Assembly, showing that, under the existing laws, the jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty and the Pennsylvania Supreme Court overlapped to such an extent that "the first and second Judges of the Supreme Court [could] hold a Court of Admiralty Sessions in Philadelphia, & the third and fourth judges hold a like Court at the same Time in Lancaster, & the Judge of Admiralty be present at neither."¹ The assembly apparently did nothing to clear up the confusion, for in October, 1785, Hopkinson reminded them that it was still possible in Pennsylvania to hold an admiralty court without the presence of the judge of admiralty.² It was almost inevitable that a situation like this should lead to friction between the judges of the two

¹ Letter in the collection of Mrs. Florence Scovel Shinn.

² A summary of the contents of this letter was published in the *Pennsylvania Evening Herald* on November 2, 1785. On December 2, a contributor to the *Pennsylvania Packet*, signing himself "Veritas," discussed the jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty in a long, technical article, to which Hopkinson replied on December 9. "Veritas" published a second article on December 23, and Hopkinson a second reply on January 2, 1786.

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courts. That it did so is indicated by a letter written by Hopkinson to his marshal, Clement Biddle, on September 11, 1786.

After I had ordered the Pirate¹ before me for Examination, Mr. M'Kean thought fit to order him before him—As I greatly dislike this Sort of Business I shall not enforce my own Order. But I expect & shall insist that you possess yourself of all the Money and Effects found upon the Prisoner, or which may be part of the Plunder he took—& you are not to give them up to *any Authority* without my Orders.—Make a return to me of such Property as soon as possible.²

Further evidence of ill feeling between Hopkinson and his distinguished brother-in-law, the chief justice of Pennsylvania, is found in two letters written by the Judge of Admiralty to Benjamin Franklin, then president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, in the fall of 1787. The first of these letters, dated September 18, states that certain members of the President's Council have invented absurd technicalities to delay the payment of the writer's salary as judge of admiralty.³ The second, written three days later, gives this explanation of the trouble:

This is a poor Attempt of an Enemy I have in Council whom I never offended in Word or Deed—who is under the entire Influence of Judges Bryan & M'Kean—& has, by their Instigation, been for three Years labouring in the Assembly to deprive me of my Office, & in the Council to obstruct my Quarterly Payments.⁴

From the paragraph just quoted it is evident that the quarrel between Hopkinson and McKean was serious and that it had continued for several years. The original cause of the disagreement is not known. In the opinion of Mr. Burton Alva Konkle, the chief authority on Pennsylvania

¹ For the probable identity of this pirate, see the *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st series), XI, 53-54.

² Letter in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Sprague Collection*.

³ University of Pennsylvania Library, *Franklin Papers*, VIII, 70.

⁴ Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Society Collection*.

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history of this period,¹ the quarrel began in 1776, when Pennsylvania adopted a new constitution, which was championed by Judges George Bryan and Thomas McKean and was opposed by Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, James Wilson, and Francis Hopkinson. The fight between the Constitutionalist and their opponents was carried on with much bitterness;² hence it may have been the cause of the break between Hopkinson and McKean. The fact that the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania in December, 1780, passed a resolution permitting McKean to occupy the house of Jacob Duché, which had been confiscated by the state, may have increased Hopkinson's hostility toward the Chief Justice.³ Another cause of the estrangement may have been McKean's second marriage, which took place a little more than a year after the death of his first wife, Mary Borden, Mrs. Hopkinson's sister. This seems all the more probable since Hopkinson's dislike for McKean was shared by the Borden family. Joseph Borden's will, made in 1787, directs that debts which his son, Joseph Borden, and his son-in-law, Francis Hopkinson, owe him be canceled. A codicil, dated 1789, stipulates that no legacies be paid to the McKean children until Thomas McKean and one of his sons have paid certain debts which they owe the testator.

On April 6, 1787, the Supreme Executive Council unanimously reappointed Hopkinson judge of admiralty for a

¹ Among his works are *The Life and Times of Thomas Smith*, *The Life and Speeches of Thomas Williams*, *The Life of Chief Justice Ellis Lewis*, *David Lloyd and the First Half-Century of Pennsylvania*, *The Life and Writings of James Wilson*, and *George Bryan and the Constitution of Pennsylvania*.

² See pp. 371 ff.

³ See Edward Duffield Neill's article on Jacob Duché, published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 58-73.

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term of seven years.¹ Ten days later he took the oath of office.² On February 28, 1788, he complained to the Supreme Executive Council that Matthew Clarkson had "not thought fit" to render a certain account requested by the judge of admiralty.³ On August 30, 1784, Hopkinson had recommended to the assembly that the wardens of the port of Philadelphia be placed under the jurisdiction of the judge of admiralty.⁴ This recommendation was evidently carried out, for on August 21, 1788, he sent to the council a complaint against Phineas Bond, the British consul, whom he accused of exceeding his authority and interfering with the wardens of the port.⁵ His last important act as judge of admiralty was the publication, in February, 1789, of his *Judgments in the Admiralty of Pennsylvania*.⁶ This volume contains the decisions later republished in the third volume of *The Miscellaneous Essays*, preceded by an Introduction and full reports of six of the cases that he considered particularly important, because they illustrate the "connection subsisting between owners and captains in the eye of the law," and followed by an Appendix, made up of exhibits and depositions.⁷

¹ *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, XV, 191. His commission, signed by Franklin, is among the *Hopkinson Official Documents* in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, XV, 199.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 398; *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st series), XI, 250.

⁴ This letter, addressed to Henry Hill, a member of the assembly, is in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

⁵ *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, XV, 517, 520; *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st series), XI, 375.

⁶ See Charles P. Keith, *Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania*, p. 269. Copies of the original edition, published by Thomas Dobson, are owned by the Library of Congress, the American Philosophical Society, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The manuscript is owned by Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

⁷ The Introduction and Appendix are not republished in *The Miscellaneous Essays*; the decisions in the six important cases appear in Vol. III, Part I, pp. 132-99.

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On March 3, 1789, Hopkinson wrote to Washington a long letter, ending with these words:

I have been careful to keep accurate Reports of all the litigated Cases determined in the Admiralty of Pennsylvania since my Administration, which is now Nine Years. The little Book I enclose contains a few of those Cases selected for the Information of Merchants & others whom they may concern, the whole Work will probably be published hereafter.

My Attention has now been so long fixed in this Department that I should find myself very unfit at this Time of Life for any new Pursuit. My present Commission will shortly expire by the Commencement of our new Government. As it can be no longer a Doubt but that you will (most worthily) be placed at the Head of the Government, I am encourag'd by some of my Friends & urged by my own Wishes to make an early Application for the Admiralty Department under the United States. Should your Judgment coincide with my Views, I shall be happy in spending the Remainder of my Days in the Service of a Government whose Establishment I have so anxiously desired; and in a Line wherein I think myself best qualified to render those Services.

In whatever Situation my future Lot may be cast I shall always endeavour to merit & be always happy in the Enjoyment of your Friendship.¹

To this application Washington ten days later replied:

Be assured then, that my inclinations to serve you are sincere and strong—not because I have a friendship for you (for friendship ought to have nothing to do with the matter) but because I think you capable of serving the public well—Yet you will suffer me to add, that, from the time when I began to fear it would become unavoidably necessary for me to go on again into public life, I determined in that case to go into it, free from all possible engagements of every kind whatsoever. To this determination I have faithfully adhered. For I conceived my own reputation as well as the interest of the community required, that I should be totally at liberty, when in office, to act with a sole reference to justice and the public good.²

¹ Library of Congress, *Washington Papers*, Vol. XV, No. 7.

² Letter of March 13, 1789, in the Library of Congress, *Washington's Letter-Books*, Vol. VII, No. 19.

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Washington's reply left Hopkinson in some anxiety. This anxiety he confided to Robert Morris, who on August 15 wrote him a very amusing letter beginning as follows:

I am in your debt for two letters (and I wish to God it was the only debt against me) one of the 31st of July & the other of the 10th of August. You say very wisely that only *God and Genl. Washington* can tell whether you will have an opportunity to appoint the Clerk of the Circuit or not, but as you have been a member of the Episcopal Convention¹ lately & have been surrounded with Worthy Bishops, Pious Clergymen and good devout Laymen I should think you must have had a good opportunity of brightening the Chain and securing your interest with the first, and as I have had an opportunity of bringing you to the contemplation and consideration of the last, it seems to me that whether they tell you their Minds a priori, (is that right? a bit of Latin is a fine thing sometimes) or not, yet the indications are strongly in your favour, but you *have* Competitors and probably others may arise, however, whatever is, is, as Gouverneur Morris used to say.²

On September 24, 1789, Congress passed an act reorganizing the judiciary system of the country. By this act the state Court of Admiralty was abolished, and the admiralty jurisdiction became vested in a new United States court known as the United States District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.³ On September 30 President Washington sent to Hopkinson a commission⁴ appointing him judge in this court.⁵ Among all the manuscripts in Mr. Edward Hopkinson's great collection, which contains autograph letters from almost every American of importance who lived during the first fifty years of the

¹ See pp. 369-70.

² Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

³ J. T. Scharf and T. Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, II, 1576-77.

⁴ The commission is among the *Hopkinson Official Documents* in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁵ An announcement of Hopkinson's appointment was published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, on October 7, 1789.

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Republic, there is none that he prizes more highly than the letter from Washington that accompanied the commission.

I have the pleasure to enclose to you a commission as Judge of the United States for the District of Pennsylvania, to which office I have nominated, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, have appointed you.

In my nomination of Persons to fill offices in the Judicial Department, I have been guided by the importance of the object—considering it as of the first magnitude, and as the Pillar upon which our political fabric must rest, I have endeavored to bring into the offices of its administration such Characters as will give stability and dignity to our national Government, and I persuade myself that they will discover a due desire to promote the happiness of our Country by a ready acceptance of their several appointments.¹

On April 5, 1786, Hopkinson was chosen one of five commissioners appointed by the state to confer with commissioners from Delaware and Maryland about the best method of improving navigation on the Susquehanna River.² On November 8 he informed Jefferson that the commissioners were to meet on November 27, and that the proposed improvements included a canal between the Chesapeake and the Delaware.³

A very complete record of Hopkinson's later private life may be gathered from his letters. Of his correspondence during the last decade of his life with members of his own family not many letters are now in existence, but of his correspondence with his friends—notably Franklin, Washington, and Jefferson—several important collections have been preserved.

¹ Francis Hopkinson's son Joseph later became a judge of this court; hence the same office was held by Thomas Hopkinson, his son Francis, and his grandson Joseph—a rare occurrence, certainly, in this country. In the United States Court Room in Philadelphia are copies in oil of their portraits, by Ida Waugh, the gift of Mrs. Elizabeth Borden Biddle.

² *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st series), X, 755.

³ Letter in the Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XXVI, 4415-16.

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Perhaps the most interesting letter in Hopkinson's family correspondence of this period is one written on January 8, 1785, to his brother-in-law, Dr. Samuel S. Coale, of Baltimore, which gives an account of the death of his talented and attractive sister, Mary, wife of Dr. John Morgan. A portrait of Mary Morgan, owned by Mrs. Francis Tazewell Redwood, shows her to have been a very beautiful woman;¹ and her correspondence, preserved in the collections of Mrs. Redwood and Mr. Edward Hopkinson, reveals a charming personality. Like her mother, she had a deeply religious temperament. Three years before her marriage she wrote to Dr. Morgan an earnest letter urging him not to neglect the important rite of baptism. It is amusing to note that Dr. Morgan found her arguments so convincing that he not only presented himself as a candidate for baptism, but also brought a friend with him. She wrote a poem addressed to her husband² which is as good as most of her brother's serious verse. Her letters, most of which were written from Cambridge while her husband was stationed there with Washington's army, give a very interesting picture of the social life of American officers. For example, one written on November 29, 1775, informs her mother that General Washington, General Gates, General Putnam, and General Lee have called that day.³ All her letters give evidence of her affection for her husband and her family, and of the graciousness of her manners and the nobility of her character.

Hopkinson's letter to Dr. Coale gives these details of his sister's death, which occurred on New Year's Day, 1785:

¹ This portrait is a copy of a miniature which is said to have been painted by Benjamin West.

² In the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

³ *Ibid.*

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I wrote to you last Sunday, informing you of the heavy & afflicting Loss we have had in the Death of our amiable and beloved Sister Morgan. She is gone—I hope & firmly believe to a State of Peace & Blessedness. She was buried on Wednesday Morning in St. Peter's Church near the Remains of Mr Duché's Children.¹ The Morning was snowy, & severely cold, & the Walking was dangerous & slippery. Nevertheless, a great Number of the most respected Citizens attended the Funeral, & her Pawl [*sic*] was borne by the first Ladies of the Place. Never was a Corpse washed with truer Tears, not only by her own Connections but by her Friends and Acquaintances. . . . As to herself, she bore her Illness with a Fortitude that would have done Honour to a Hero & a Meekness & Patience worthy of a Christian. . . . She has made a Will, which the Doctor drew up for her in Form, by which she has left some little Memorandums of Love to her Relations.²

Mrs. Florence Scovel Shinn's collection contains two letters written by Hopkinson in 1785 to his brother-in-law, Joseph Borden. During the early days of the Revolution, Borden had been a dashing captain of light-horse; but his active career came to an end at Germantown, where he received a wound which a few years later caused his death. After retiring from active service, he became continental loan officer for New Jersey and one of the commissioners in charge of confiscated property. Hopkinson's letters, dated May 24 and December 3, contain advice about loan-office accounts, with which Borden was having some trouble. Mr. Edward Hopkinson has a letter written by Hopkinson on September 27 to the Board of Treasury, urging that Borden's account be settled promptly, and the board's reply of October 17, promising that no time shall be lost in bringing matters to a final adjustment.

It will be remembered that when Hopkinson was in

¹ Sophia Maria was born on August 10, 1761, and died on August 27, 1762; Mary was born on October 27, 1770, and died on December 19, 1770.

² Dr. Morgan survived his wife only four years; they left no children.

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England he paid a visit to John Taylor, of Bath.¹ He and Taylor were friends for many years. On January 15, 1783, Taylor wrote to Hopkinson, acknowledging the receipt of a "very kind and affectionate letter," and announcing that he was planning to send to Philadelphia some engravings of his pictures, which he asked Hopkinson to turn over to some "proper person" for sale. In return for this favor he offered his services to any of his American friends who had "matters either of a public or private nature to negotiate" in England. "They may find a man of more abilities," he remarked, "but none of more strict integrity."² In May, 1783, he gave Hopkinson and George Clymer³ power of attorney to look after his property in Philadelphia. By 1787, however, Taylor's relations with his Philadelphia friends had sadly changed, for in that year he published a pamphlet entitled *A Narrative of the Dispute between John Taylor, Esquire, and George Clymer and Francis Hopkinson, Esquires*, in which he complained that his agents had disregarded his instructions to sell property only for cash, and had flatly disobeyed his orders by building a costly house on one of his lots.⁴

In 1783 Robert Edge Pine, the English artist, came to America to paint some of the scenes made famous by the Revolution, and to make portraits of the American leaders. He brought with him a letter of introduction to Hopkinson, who gave him his first commission in this country. After finishing Hopkinson's portrait,⁵ he went to Virginia, bearing this letter to General Washington:

¹ See p. 146.

² Mr. Edward Hopkinson has a copy of this letter.

³ George Clymer was a wealthy and influential citizen; he was a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a member of the Constitutional Convention.

⁴ The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has a copy of this pamphlet.

⁵ This picture is in the Hopkinson collection of family portraits in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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PHILAD^a, 19th April, 1785

DEAR SIR,

Encouraged by the friendly Notice with which you have upon every Occasion been pleased to honour me, I take the Liberty of recommending to your kind Attention my Friend M^r Pine, an Artist of acknowledged Eminence, & who has given the World many pleasing and forcible Specimens of his Genius. Zeal for the American Cause has brought him over from England, to secure, whilst it is yet possible, faithful Representations of some of the most interesting Events of the late War—not ideal Pictures but real Portraits of the Persons and Places concerned. You will easily discover the Tendency of this Letter & of M^r Pine's Visit. Scenes, wherein you bore so conspicuous a Part, cannot be faithfully represented if you are omitted. I know you have already suffered much Persecution under the Painter's Pencil & verily believe that you would rather fight a Battle, on a just Occasion, than to sit for a Picture—because there is Life and Vigour in *Fortitude*, & *Patience* is but a dull Virtue. I would not insinuate that you have not much Patience, but am very sure you have a great deal of Good-Nature—and on this we depend on the present Occasion. It would be no Compliment to M^r Pine to say he is the most eminent Artist, in his Way, we have ever had in this Country. But his own Pencil will display his Abilities in much better Terms than my Pen, & I have no doubt you will find him worthy of your Notice in every Respect.

M^{rs} Hopkinson joins me in most respectful Regards to your good Lady.

With sincerest Wishes for your Health and Prosperity, I am, Dear Sir,

Your ever affectionate Friend
& faithful humble Servant,

FRA^s HOPKINSON¹

To this letter Washington sent this whimsical reply on May 16:

DEAR SIR,

In for a penny, in for a pound, is an old adage.—I am so hackneyed to the touches of the Painters pencil, that I am *now* altogether at their

¹ This letter is in the *Emmet Collection* owned by the New York Public Library. It was published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIX, 7-8.

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beck, and sit like patience on a Monument whilst they are delineating the lines of my face.—

It is a proof among many others of what habit & custom can effect.—At first I was as impatient at the request, and as restive under the operation, as a Colt is of the Saddle—The next time, I submitted very reluctantly, but with less flouncing.—Now, no dray moves more readily to the Thill, than I do to the Painters Chair.—It may easily be conceived therefore that I yielded a ready obedience to your request, and to the views of M^r Pine.

Letters from England, recommendatory of this Gentleman, came to my hand previous to his arrival in America—not only as an Artist of acknowledged eminence, but as one who had discovered a friendly disposition toward this Country—for which, it seems, he had been marked.

It gave me pleasure to hear from you—I shall always feel an interest in your happiness—and with M^{rs} Washingtons compliments, & best wishes joined to my own, for M^{rs} Hopkinson & yourself,

I am—D^r Sir,

Y^r most Obed^t & Affect^o

H^{ble} Servant,

G^o WASHINGTON¹

FRAN^s HOPKINSON ESQ^r

Although Francis Hopkinson and Thomas Jefferson were both members of the Second Continental Congress in 1776, there is no record of any intimate friendship between them until several years later. About the first of November, 1783, Jefferson, who had been returned to Congress by the state of Virginia, arrived in Philadelphia, with his daughter Martha, a child of nine, whose mother had died not long before.² He had hoped that he might have his daughter's

¹ Mr. Edward Hopkinson has a lithographic copy of this letter. Mr. Allen Kerr, of Pittsburgh, Pa., tells me that the original is owned by Miss Ann Lewis, of Pittsburgh. The version of the letter published by Sparks and Ford is taken from a copy by Bartholomew Dandridge, Washington's nephew and secretary, in the *Washington Letter-Books*, No. VI, p. 82. This copy differs from the original in several particulars. For example, it corrects an apparent error by changing "dray" to "dray-horse."

² Two younger daughters, Mary and Lucy Elizabeth, were left with Mrs. Francis Eppes, their mother's sister, in Virginia. Lucy Elizabeth died in 1784.

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company during the winter, and that she might enjoy the advantages offered by the Philadelphia schools, but the first part of his plan was completely spoiled by the erratic behavior of Congress. In the preceding summer about eighty soldiers of the Pennsylvania line, becoming mutinous from discomfort and want of pay, had left their camp at Lancaster and had marched to Philadelphia, threatening violence to various persons, including the members of Congress. The Pennsylvania state officials could not or would not take active measures against the insurgents, who behaved so insolently that Congress, in mingled fear and anger, left the city and took refuge in Princeton.¹ "Finding themselves but ill accommodated there," as Hopkinson expressed it, they decided to move again; and accordingly, on November 4, they adjourned to meet in Annapolis on November 26. This action made it necessary for Jefferson to find someone to take care of his daughter while he went south again to join the wandering legislators. In this exigency Mrs. Thomas Hopkinson came to his rescue by taking the little girl into her home.²

As a result of this arrangement, Jefferson had occasion on December 23, 1783, to write Hopkinson a letter, in the course of which he gave a brief sketch of Buffon's system of astronomy.³ This letter Hopkinson found so interesting that he conceived the plan of carrying on a regular correspondence with the Virginian, whose tastes resembled his own and whose information on a wide range of subjects was

¹ See John Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History*, pp. 111-13.

² For an interesting letter from Jefferson to his daughter, giving her much good advice and providing a schedule for her day's work and play, see Henry S. Randall, *The Life of Thomas Jefferson*, I, 390-91.

³ George Louis Leclerc de Buffon, *Histoire naturelle, générale, et particulière*, 1749-1804.

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truly remarkable. Accordingly, on January 4, 1784, he sent Jefferson a long reply, which begins as follows:

DEAR FRIEND,

I heartily thank you for your Favour of the 23^d Dec. last & for the Pains you have taken to abridge Mons^r Buffon's System of Astronomy. However you may think your Time lost in reading his two whimsical Volumes, the little Time you took in giving me a Summary of his Scheme was certainly not spent in vain. Your Letter found me very un-well¹ & in a great deal of Pain; and it drew my Attention so as to smother a dozen Groans at least: a Proof that the Laceration of a Part of the Body does not necessarily produce Pain. The Attention with which the Soul watches every Circumstance that concerns the Body occasions the Sense of Pain. If in the very Moment of Torture any external Object should present, more interesting to the Mind than even the Care of the Body, the Soul will bear all her Powers to this new Object; & the Sense of Pain will cease. This is daily experienced in small un-interesting Afflictions such as a slight Tooth-Ache, a trifling Burn &c. When I was in England, I had an excruciating Boil, which was at the Height of Inflammation & Tension; I went, nevertheless, to a public Place & heard the Oratorio of the Messiah² performed to Admiration. I felt no more Pain of the Boil—it even broke whilst I was there without my perceiving it. Had I been in my Chamber, I should have cried out with Anguish.—May not the Firmness of Martyrs be accounted for on the same Principle?

He then imagines a whimsical analogy between the origin of the world, as pictured by Buffon, and the origin of the "American Empire." England is a sun, and France a comet that has struck it and knocked off the planet America, which has carried away part of the atmosphere of the sun (laws, customs, language, and religion) and is now moving in an orbit of its own. The fact that a planet cools first at the north accounts for the migration of Congress to the southward.

¹ A postscript explains that the writer has been suffering from an attack of gout.

² Mentioned in a letter written to his mother on September 23, 1766; see p. 136.

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Of Martha Jefferson, Hopkinson writes:

Your Daughter was with me on Wednesday Evening last & danced out the old Year in Company with M^r Rittenhouse's & my Children. A Forte Piano served for a Fiddle & I for a Fiddler. I was much indisposed the whole Evening, but this Mirth alleviated my Pains.

He next informs Jefferson that Du Simitière, who has been employed to teach Martha drawing, declines to go on with the lessons. "He says he is no *School-Master* & not obliged to go thro' the Drudgery of teaching those who have no Capacity." Hopkinson is incensed at this display of temperament, and advises Jefferson to refuse to pay the artist, who has already received a guinea as an "entrance" fee, any more money. "Your Daughter is well & now here to dine with me—She desires her dutiful Love—My Mother also desires her affectionate Regards."

Near the end of the letter Hopkinson proposes that he and Jefferson continue their correspondence.

I shall be happy in corresponding with you if you give me any Encouragement. My Fancy suggests a Thousand Whims which die for want of Communication—nor would I communicate them, but to one who has Discernment to conceive my Humours & Candour with respect to my Faults and Peculiarities—Such a Friend I believe you to be.¹

On February 18 Jefferson sent Hopkinson a very cordial reply, in which he indicated his willingness to continue the correspondence and explained that he had been prevented by illness from answering sooner. "You write in a gout (I believe it was) and I answer in a fever." Referring to Martha, he wrote, "I must . . . thank you for your notice of my little daughter, whose education & improvement is my first object now. I am sure your advice and society will forward these works with her." He regretted

¹ Letter in the Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, X, 1620-22. With the letter Hopkinson sent what he called "a Christmas Gambol, in a Literary Way," which is discussed on pp. 427-28.

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that Du Simitière had found the child a "dull subject," but hoped that the artist might be persuaded to go on with the lessons, for which he was to be paid whatever he thought due him.¹

On June 5, 1783, the Montgolfier brothers, Joseph Michel and Jacques Étienne, had demonstrated the results of their investigations in aeronautics by sending up at Annonay, France, a large hot-air balloon. That the ascension aroused much interest in America, as well as in France, is proved by the fact that early in 1784 an American correspondent of the *Journal de Paris* contributed to that paper an interesting bit of fiction describing an imaginary balloon ascension in Philadelphia. According to this story, which was published on May 13, 1784, "Ritnose" (David Rittenhouse) and "Opquisne" (Francis Hopkinson), members of the "Philosophical Academy" (American Philosophical Society), had on December 28 of the preceding year sent up forty-seven small balloons attached to a cage, in which they had placed "animals." When the animals came safely back to earth, Gimes Ouilcoxe (James Wilcox), a local carpenter, agreed to make an ascent. All went well with him for a time, but when he saw that he was approaching the "Scoulquille" River he became alarmed, and hastily brought himself to earth by puncturing some of the balloons.

Although this story is a pure myth,² the Hopkinson-

¹ Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

² There is no mention of the event in the records of the American Philosophical Society, in William Barton's *Life of David Rittenhouse*, in the correspondence of Hopkinson, or in Jacob Hiltzheimer's *Diary*—which does record the first actual ascension. Nevertheless, the story is generally accepted as true. It is quoted in Hatton Turner's elaborate history of aeronautics, *Astra Castra*, and is repeated in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, although the hoax was exposed by Joseph Jackson in an article published in the thirty-fifth volume of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*.

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Jefferson correspondence shows that the Americans were interested in balloons from the beginning, and that they early began to experiment with them themselves. The first reference to the subject is found in Jefferson's letter of February 18, 1784, which has already been mentioned:

What think you of these ballons [*sic*]? They really begin to assume a serious face. The Cheval^r Luzerne^t communicated to me a letter received from his brother who mentions one which he had seen himself. The persons who ascended in it regulated its height at about 3000 feet, and passed with the wind about 6 miles in 20 minutes, when they chose to let themselves down, tho' they could have traveled triple the distance. This discovery seems to threaten the prostration of fortified works unless they can be closed above, the destruction of fleets & what not. The French may now run over their laces, wines &c to England duty free. The whole system of British statutes made on the supposition of goods being brought into some port must be revised. Inland countries may become *maritime* states unless you chuse rather to call them *aerial* ones as their commerce is in future to be carried on through that element—But jesting apart I think this discovery may lead to things useful. For instance there is no longer a difficulty how Congress may move backwards & forwards, and your bungling scheme of moving houses & moving towns is quite superseded.² We shall soar sublime above the clouds.

Hopkinson's reply,³ written on March 12, is chiefly a discussion of the political situation in Philadelphia, but it contains a casual reference to balloons, which clearly disproves the story published in the *Journal de Paris*.

We have not taken the Affair of the *Balloons* in hand. A high-flying Politician is I think not unlike a Balloon—he is full of Inflammability, he is driven along by every Current of Wind—and those who will

¹ The French minister. The ascent described by his brother was that of Pilâtre de Rozier, made on November 21, 1783.

² This refers to Hopkinson's essay, "A Summary of Some Late Proceedings in a Certain Great Assembly," which ridicules the inability of Congress to decide upon a permanent place of meeting. The essay is discussed on pp. 383-84.

³ Another reply, written on February 23, will be referred to later. See p. 359.

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suffer themselves to be carried up by them run a great Risk that the Bubble may burst & let them fall from the Height to which the Principle of Levity had raised them.¹

On March 31 Hopkinson reported to Jefferson that aeronautic experimentation had begun in Philadelphia.

A Gentleman in Town is making an Air Balloon of 6 feet Diameter; it is now almost completed—what the Success will be Time must show. . . .

Congress imagined that when they remov'd to Annapolis to pout, we should all be in deep Distress—& for every Pout return a Sigh—but the Event is far otherwise. The name of Congress is almost forgotten—& for every Person that will mention that respectable Body, a hundred will talk of an Air Balloon. I have a singular Regard for Congress, & will therefore ask an unfashionable Question, when may we hope to see Congress this way? & what are they doing? But I grow saucy—& have not Time, now, for even that.²

On May 12 Hopkinson sent his friend this account of the first balloon ascensions that actually occurred in Philadelphia:

We have been amusing ourselves with raising Air Balloons made of Paper—the first that mounted our Atmosphere was made by D^r Foulk & sent up from the Garden of the Minister of Holland the Day before yesterday. Yesterday Forenoon, the same Balloon was raised from M^r Morris's Garden, & last Evening another was exhibited at the Minister of France's to the great Amusement of the Spectators. They rose twice or perhaps three Times the Height of the Houses, & then gently descended without Damage. They were open at the Bottom, & of course the Gas soon wasted. I am contriving a better Method of filling them.³

Nine days later, on May 21, Jefferson, who was then in Philadelphia, wrote to James Monroe: "I have had the pleasure of seeing 3 balons here. The largest was of 8 f. diameter and ascended about 300 feet."⁴

¹ Letter in the Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, X, 1647.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 1655–56.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1694–95.

⁴ *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed., Paul Leicester Ford), III, 496.

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A letter written by Hopkinson to Franklin on May 24 continues the history of balloon experiments in Philadelphia, and reveals the fact that Hopkinson had already anticipated the invention of the dirigible.

We have been diverting ourselves with raising Paper Balloons by means of burnt Straw—to the great Astonishment of the Populace. This Discovery, like Electricity, Magnetism & many other important Phenomena, serve for Amusement at first—its Uses & Applications will hereafter unfold themselves. There may be many mechanical Means of giving the Balloon a progressive Motion, other than what the Current of Wind would give it—perhaps this is as simple as any—let the Balloon be constructed in an oblong Form, something like the Body of a Fish, or a Bird, or a Wherry—& let there be a large & light Wheel on the Stern, vertically mounted—This Wheel should consist of several Vanes or Fains of Canvas, whose Plains [*sic*] should be considerably inclined with respect to the Plains of its Motion, exactly like the Wheel of a Smoak-Jack. If the Navigator turns this Wheel swiftly round, by means of a Winch, there is no Doubt but it would (in a Calm at least) give the Machine a progressive Motion, upon the same Principle that a Boat is scull'd thro' the Water.¹

After his appointment as minister to France in 1784, Jefferson occasionally sent his friends in America bits of news about the progress of aeronautics in Europe. On January 13, 1785, he wrote to Hopkinson:

Mr. Blanchard of this country & Dr. Jefferies of Massachusetts arrived here the day before yesterday from Dover, having crossed the channel on the 7th in a Balloon. They were two hours from land to land. It was filled with inflammable air. We are told here of a method of extracting this from pit coal cheaply & speedily, but it is not yet reduced to experience.²

¹ Letter in the American Philosophical Society, *Franklin Papers*, XXXI, 185. The *Boston Magazine* for July, 1784, contains the following notice:

"July 17. The American Aerostatic balloon will rise from New Workhouse yard with a person in it, between the hours of five and seven o'clock in the evening."

² Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq. Dr. John Jeffries, B.A., Harvard, 1753, and M.D., Aberdeen, 1769, was a Son of Liberty in the

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On June 17 he sent Monroe an account of the death of Pilâtre de Rozier and a companion, who had lost their lives on June 15 while trying to cross from France to England in a hydrogen balloon.¹ And finally on September 25 he wrote to Hopkinson:

Arts and arms are alike asleep for the moment. Ballooning indeed goes on. There are true artists in the neighborhood of Paris, who seem to be advancing toward the desideratum in this business. They are able to rise and fall at will, without expending their gas, and to deflect forty-five degrees from the course of the wind.²

Writing from Annapolis on May 3, 1784, Jefferson told Hopkinson that "certain innovators" wished to banish the currency then in use, in which the unit of measurement was the pound, and to substitute for it a new currency having the dollar as a unit.³ This gave Hopkinson an idea which he lost no time in communicating to his friend.

It appears by your Letter that Congress may have taken up the Idea of a Public Mint. I beg Leave to mention to you that I have long had it in Contemplation to solicit the Super-Intendency of this Department should it ever be established. M^r Morris marked out this Station for me when he first formed the Idea of striking metal Coin for the U. States. My Gim-crack Abilities, & I flatter myself my Integrity & Attention would be of Service to the Department—but my whole Scheme would fail unless the Mint should be carried on in or near this City. The Business of the Admiralty Department takes up but little of my Time & its Emoluments (£500 p^r An), which is the whole of my Income, you can easily suppose is insufficient for the Support & Education of so large a Family as I have in Charge.⁴ What with the Depreda-

latter year, but in 1776, he went as a surgeon with Howe's troops to Nova Scotia, and thence to England. He returned to Boston in 1789 and practiced medicine there until his death in 1819. "Inflammable air" is hydrogen.

¹ *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed., Paul Leicester Ford), IV, 60.

² *Ibid.* (ed., A. A. Lipscomb), V, 147-48.

³ Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

⁴ At this time Hopkinson's family consisted of five children—Joseph, Elizabeth, Mary, Ann, and Francis. Sarah, the youngest child, was born on May 26, 1784, and died on August 19, 1785.

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tions of the Enemy & my little Capital which all lies entranced in the Monuments of the public Funds, I have given up all Hope of leaving my Family anything of Importance at my Death; but my earnest Desire is to be enabled to leave them all well educated; to do which I must procure in some Line or other a more liberal Income than £500 per An. This I cannot do in the way of Trade. My Office as Judge prohibits it—at least not openly—but there will be no Inconsistence in my holding such a Department under Congress. I promise myself your friendly Advice and Interest in this Matter. You are the only Person to whom I have ever mentioned this Business, except M^r Morris, who in Truth first brought the Object into my View; & who I am sure, will exert his Influence to the Extent in my Behalf—I shall want your Opinion, & follow your Advice.

Hopkinson included this application in his long letter of May 12, 1784.¹ On May 7 Jefferson had been appointed minister plenipotentiary to France, and on May 11 had left Annapolis for Philadelphia. From this city on May 21 he wrote to James Monroe, whom he had asked to take charge of his mail:

Hopkinson tells me he had mentioned in his letter to me that the office of Director or master of the mint would be acceptable. He was therefore uneasy when I told him that I had left a request with a friend to open my letters. But I satisfied him perfectly on that head, and that you would render him any service which the duties of your situation would permit. He is a man of genius, gentility, & great merit, & at the same time poor & the father of a numerous family. He holds a little office here, more respectable than profitable, for he can but barely live. He is as capable of the office as any man I know & the appointment would give general pleasure, because he is generally esteemed.²

On December 23, 1786, Jefferson wrote to Hopkinson from Paris: "Have they connected you with our mint? My friend Monroe promised me he would take care for you in that, or perhaps the establishment of that at New York

¹ See p. 337.

² *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed., Paul Leicester Ford), III, 496.

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may have been incompatible with your residence in Philadelphia.”¹ From these letters it seems probable that Hopkinson would have been the first director of the United States Mint had he not died before it was established.²

On his way to France, Jefferson remained in Philadelphia for only a few days. He arrived in New York on May 30 and in Boston on June 18, and he sailed on July 5. On May 30 Hopkinson sent him a portrait of General Washington, copied by Joseph Wright,³ a local painter, from another portrait by an artist whom Hopkinson neglected to name. This picture, Hopkinson explained, had been dried so rapidly, “to admit its being packed,” that the colors had sunk in. He therefore gave minute instructions for restoring the original tints, by a process, part of which, he asserted, was regularly employed by Sir Joshua Reynolds.⁴

After Jefferson went to France, his correspondence with Hopkinson increased in volume. On November 18, 1784, Hopkinson congratulated him upon his “safe arrival in Europe, after a Voyage remarkably short.” He informed him that Du Simitière had died, and that “the Philosophical Society [had] it in Contemplation to purchase the principal Part of his Collection of Papers, natural Curiosities &c.” He asked to be remembered to the Chevalier de la Luzerne and to Dr. Franklin. “My little Folks desire to

¹ *Ibid.* (ed., A. A. Lipscomb), VI, 23.

² Hopkinson died in 1791; the Mint was established in 1792. See G. G. Evans, *An Illustrated History of the United States Mint*, p. 7.

³ Joseph Wright was a son of Mrs. Patience Wright, of Bordentown, who, because of her skill in making wax figures, became known as the “Promethean Modeler.” After acquiring a reputation in America, she removed in 1772 to England, where she achieved equal success. During the Revolution she served as an American spy. See the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁴ Letter in the Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, X, 1717.

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be remembered to Miss Jefferson,¹ to which add my own affectionate Regards—& in particular those of my Mother.”²

In the year 1783 Hopkinson made a decided improvement in the harpsichord, by substituting tongues of sole-leather and cork for the quill picks that had previously been used to produce the vibration of the strings. This invention, which improved the tone of the instrument and greatly decreased the difficulty of keeping the mechanism in repair, would have been a very important one had not the harpsichord later been superseded by the piano.³ Hopkinson was very hopeful that his invention might be financially profitable. His friend, Robert Bremner, brought the device to the attention of the London harpsichord manufacturers,⁴ and Jefferson performed a like service in Paris.⁵ Hopkinson's letter of November 18, 1784, indicates that the invention had already been given a practical test. “I have received my Harpsichord from London, & a very excellent one it is, with a Shudi & Broadwood's Patent Swell & quilled according to my Method, for which Invention they have struck off 30 Guineas from their Bill.”⁶

¹ Martha Jefferson accompanied her father to France; Mary joined them in 1787.

² Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XI, 1861.

³ Hopkinson's invention is mentioned in F. J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*.

⁴ Joseph Reed, who was in London in the summer of 1784, also seems to have rendered Hopkinson some assistance. Mr. Edward Hopkinson has a letter from Reed to Hopkinson, dated July 8, which discusses the improved method at length.

⁵ The first reference to the invention that I have found in the Jefferson correspondence is in a letter written by Hopkinson on May 25, 1784. This letter, which is owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, states that the writer is inclosing his “Proposals Respecting the Improved Method.” The “Proposals”—or possibly another paper that he sent later—is in the same collection.

⁶ Hopkinson had ordered this harpsichord through Robert Bremner on November 28, 1783, for Miss Jefferson's use. His letter to Bremner is in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

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Later correspondence between the two shows that while Jefferson was in France he made many efforts to find a buyer for the "improved method," but that he apparently had little success. On July 23, 1785, Hopkinson wrote: "I have given up all Expectations of deriving any Benefit from my new Method of quilling the Harp^d other than the 30 Guineas allowed by Mr Broadwood in the price of my new Harp^d."¹ Again, on September 28 of the same year, he said: "I am sorry my Improvement in quilling a Harp^d has cost you so much Trouble. I resign any Expectations from that Source."² Hopkinson evidently had no more success in England, for on December 31, 1785, he told Jefferson: "I sent this Discovery to a Friend in England. He was to offer it for 50 G^s, but writes in Answer that my Invention had been anticipated. I see I am to be defrauded both of the Money & Credit."³

Jefferson's first letter from France, written on November 11, 1784, has been lost.⁴ His second, January 13, 1785, besides announcing the flight of Blanchard and Jeffries across the Strait of Dover, gives a brief account of the discoveries of Nathaniel Pigott and Sir William Herschel, and states that "the madness of animal magnetism" has been killed by ridicule. The letter contains one very significant remark: namely, that the conduct of the Emperor is likely to lead to war. In conclusion Jefferson requests permission to have a copy made of Wright's portrait of Washington.⁵

¹ Letter in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

² Letter in the Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XV, 2567-68.

³ *Ibid.*, XVII, 2894-95. A complete history of this invention and of the attempts to commercialize it is hardly within the scope of this biography. The subject has, however, been very carefully worked out in the fifth chapter of Mr. O. G. Sonneck's monograph.

⁴ A letter written by Jefferson on August 14, 1786, contains a list of letters written by both correspondents. See p. 349.

⁵ Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

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Hopkinson's second letter to Jefferson after the latter's arrival in France, written on March 20, 1785, gives an amusing account of the visit to America of Dr. Moyse, a blind Scotch "philosopher."

He arrived I believe a Year ago at Boston & has come from thence to this City, giving public Lectures in Natural Philosophy all the Way. He spent the Beginning of the Winter in New York—where he became very popular & a great Favourite with the Ladies in particular, who crowded to his Lectures & happy was she who could get him to dine or drink Thea at her House. Having gone thro' his Course there & reaped no small Honour & Profit, he is now performing with us. But the Rage for Philosophy at New York is not to be compared with that of Philadelphia—he exhibits three Evenings in a Week in the College Hall—he has already given 10 or a Dozen Lectures to an Audience of not less than 10 & most commonly 1200 Persons. The Ladies are ready to break their Necks after him—They throng to the Hall at 5 o'Clock for Places, altho' his Lecture does not begin till 7. He has been blind from his Infancy—has made Philosophy his Study, & is well acquainted with the present admitted Systems, adding sometimes Theories of his own, which he does however with rather too much Arrogance.¹

On April 16 Hopkinson received Jefferson's letter of January 13, to which he replied on April 20. Jefferson had requested Hopkinson to send him the chief newspaper of each of the political parties in Philadelphia and to forward back numbers, beginning with that of November 1. In reply Hopkinson reminded him of the "monstrous" expense of postage and requested further instructions. "In the mean Time, however, I shall order two weekly Papers to be sent to me and shall keep them for you." On November 18, 1784, Hopkinson had informed Jefferson that the location of the national capital had not yet been decided upon. In this letter he wrote:

They [Congress] are settled at New York—& according to Report are as little satisfied with their Situation there as they were in this City.

¹ Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XII, 1989-90.

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They have resolved to build a Federal City for themselves on the Banks of the Delaware either near or opposite to Trenton.¹

On April 29, 1782, Hopkinson had asked Franklin to enter his name on the subscription list of Charles Joseph Panckoucke's *Encyclopédie méthodique*, which was to be published in yearly volumes.² On July 6, 1785, Jefferson offered to take over this commission after Franklin's return to America, and also to send Hopkinson the *Bibliothèque physico-économique*, the first volume of which had appeared in 1783.³ He had evidently received Hopkinson's letter of April 20, for he asked him to forward the newspapers mentioned therein after clipping the margins to save postage. He asked also for a copy of "The Battle of the Kegs," and promised in return for it a copy of his own *Notes on Virginia*.⁴

Two days after sending this letter Jefferson wrote another which was lost.⁵ On July 23 Hopkinson wrote a brief note announcing that he had sent the newspapers requested by Jefferson.⁶ And on September 25 Jefferson replied, giving the report on the progress of ballooning which has already been quoted, and modestly suggesting that he would send a copy of his *Notes on Virginia* to the Philosophical Society were he not afraid of being thought egotistical.⁷

On September 28 Hopkinson announced the arrival in

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2030-31.

² Letter in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Society Collection*.

³ Two volumes of this set have been preserved in the library of Mr. Edward Hopkinson.

⁴ *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed., A. A. Lipscomb), XIX, 5-7.

⁵ Jefferson mentioned it in his letter of August 14, 1786; Hopkinson, on December 9, 1786, said that he had never received it. See pp. 349, 350-51.

⁶ Letter in the Massachusetts Historical Society, *Jefferson Papers*.

⁷ *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed., A. A. Lipscomb), V, 147-48.

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Philadelphia of Dr. Franklin, bringing with him Jefferson's letter of July 6, four volumes of the *Bibliothèque physico-économique*, and a copy of the *Notes on Virginia*. Regarding the last he wrote: "I shall be careful to observe your Instructions on the blank Leaf of your Notes."¹

Hopkinson's next letter to Jefferson was sent by Jean Antoine Houdon, the French artist, who had been in Virginia making his famous bust and mask of Washington.² This letter expresses the greatest admiration for Houdon and his work:

I yesterday saw the Head he has model'd of that great Man. I am charmed with it. He is certainly a most capital Artist. There is no looking at the Bust without Admiration & Delight. The noble Air, sublime Expression & faithful Likeness evince the Hand of a Master. You will be charmed with it. M^r Houdon having executed the Purpose of his Voyage is impatient to return. I should have been happy in a further Acquaintance with him, for I not only admire the Artist but love the Man. As he had given me so much Pleasure, I endeavoured to please him also in my Way. I played for him on the Harp^d as well as I could.

The letter also contains important political news. The Republicans, led by Robert Morris, George Clymer, and others, had defeated the Constitutionalists, under George Bryan and Thomas McKean, had preserved the National Bank, and had elected Dr. Franklin president of the state.³

Although Hopkinson had not heard from Jefferson since the return of Dr. Franklin, he wrote another cordial letter on December 31.

¹ Some of Hopkinson's notes on Jefferson's book are preserved in a manuscript owned by Edward Hopkinson, Esq. This letter is in the Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XV, 2567-68.

² See Charles Henry Hart and Edward Biddle, *Memoir of the Life and Works of Jean Antoine Houdon*, chap. x.

³ Letter dated October 25, 1785, in the Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XV, 2684-85.

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It is long—very long—since I have heard from you—but expect every Week. I wish it was in my Power to render you any Service or express how much I value your Friendship. Excuse me—I hate anything to look like a Compliment—but command me to the uttermost.¹

The wide range of interests possessed by the two men is admirably shown in Jefferson's next letter, written on January 3, 1786. After confessing his ill success in finding a buyer for the improved tongue for the harpsichord, he describes at length "an instrument invented by Mons^r Renaudin for determining the true time of musical movements." Next he gives an account of the investigations of the Abbé Rochon, who has used "the metal called platina" in experiments with the specula of telescopes, and has discovered that certain natural crystals have "different and uncombined magnifying powers." The writer then remarks cheerfully that

good qualities are sometimes misfortunes. (do not cry Heresy as yet. I will prove it from your own experience.) You are punctual and the only one of my correspondents on whom I can firmly rely for the execution of commissions which combine a little trouble with more attention. I am sorry however that I have three commissions to charge you with which will give you more than a little Trouble. Two of them are for Monsieur de Buffon.

The first of these commissions was to find a pamphlet on the subject of "attraction and impulsion," published by Cadwallader Colden many years before. The second was to send him a pair of American grouse and a pair of American pheasants for the king's cabinet of natural history, of which Buffon had charge. The third was to procure from Pittsburgh or somewhere else in the western country two or three hundred "Paccan nuts." In return for these favors

¹ *Ibid.*, XVII, 2894-95. Most of this letter is devoted to an account of Hopkinson's "philosophical" experiments, which will be discussed later.

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Jefferson agreed to "execute with zeal and punctuality" any task that Hopkinson might impose upon him.¹

Jefferson's next two letters, written on January 26 and May 9, 1786, were concerned chiefly with art supplies, volumes of the encyclopedia, and Hopkinson's harpsichord quill, for which he had tried in vain to find a buyer.²

The first letter written by Hopkinson in 1786 was made up for the most part of political and "philosophical" news. Dr. Franklin's baggage, which he had been obliged to leave behind when he started home, had at last arrived, bringing some volumes of the *Encyclopédie méthodique*. The letter ends with this bit of personal news: "Mr. Rittenhouse & myself spend every Wednesday Evening with Dr Franklin in a little pleasing philosophical Party."³

On March 28 he wrote again to inform Jefferson that he had discovered a new method of making *l'essence de l'orient*, the substance used in coloring artificial pearls. He asked him to try to find out how the French prevent the substance, which is a fish product, from spoiling, and to make inquiries about the price paid for it.⁴

In a letter written on May 1 Hopkinson again speaks very highly of Houdon, and also of Pine, who has spent the winter in Maryland, "where he has had great Success." Hopkinson again mentions the weekly "philosophical" party made up of himself, Rittenhouse, and Franklin. "Dr Franklin is well in Health—his Malady is troublesome to him at Times; but he enjoys the Conversation of his Friends."⁵

On June 28 Hopkinson informed Jefferson that Cad-

¹ *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed., A. A. Lipscomb), V, 238-44.

² Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XVIII, 3211, and XX, 3501-2.

³ Letter of March 8, 1786, in *ibid.*, XIX, 3312-13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3340.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XX, 3441.

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wallader Colden's works had been published in London by Dodsley in 1752 or 1754. Next he gave a spirited description of a bird that had been shot not long before in New Jersey:

This Bird is of the Heron Species, & is certainly a Stranger amongst us. It has three long & very white Feathers growing out of the Top of its Head,—but these are so formed as to look more like pieces of Ribbon, or silk Cord than Feathers, & very beautiful—but what I thought most remarkable is that to the middle Claw of each foot he annexed a perfect *small tooth'd Comb*—with which I suppose he comb'd his elegant Plumage. I got one of the Feet & two of the Feathers of the Crest, which, when a better Opportunity offers, I will send to you for Mons^r Buffon,—with such a description of the Bird as I can give—After all, it is more than probable that this may be no Curiosity to so great a natural Historian as M^r Buffon.¹

In Jefferson's next letter, dated August 14, 1786, we have an amusing proof that even great men are not exempt from occasional fits of peevishness over small matters. Hopkinson's letter of March 8 had begun: "I cannot at present lay my Hands upon your last, but recollect that it was of old Date." "This," said Jefferson in reply, "seems to imply a charge of my being behind-hand in the epistolary account." Turning therefore to his "epistolary ledger," he copied from it a record of their correspondence, which showed that since November, 1784, he had written nine letters to Hopkinson's ten. "After the present," he continued, "I shall still be a letter in your debt. One would think that this balance did not justify a scold." Having thus relieved his feelings, Jefferson turned calmly to a discussion of some of the subjects in which the two were interested. He agreed to try to find a market for Hopkinson's *essence de l'orient*, and promised to send copies of his *Notes on Virginia* to the Philosophical Society and Library

¹ *Ibid.*, XXII, 3767.

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Company as soon as a map that he had made of the country between Albemarle Sound and Lake Erie was engraved. The latter promise was followed by a request that Hopkinson ascertain from Rittenhouse how far west of Fort Pitt the Pennsylvania state line crossed the Ohio River. "I envy your Wednesday evenings entertainment with him [Rittenhouse] & Dr Franklin. They would be more valued by me than the whole week at Paris." He also asked for a copy of Humphrey Marshall's *Arbustum Americanum*. In conclusion, he announced the arrival in France of John Trumbull, bringing his "Death of Montgomery" and "Battle of Bunker Hill," and told of a visit he himself had paid to Versailles, which he said had surpassed all his expectations of the place.¹

On November 8 Hopkinson announced that he had shipped the leg and crest of the bird described in his letter of June 28, and promised to carry out as soon as possible the requests Jefferson had made.

I have not yet heard from the Gentleman going to Pittsburg, who promised to send me some of the Nuts you required. It is not yet Time to expect them. Pheasants are now beginning to make their Appearance in our Market, but are not yet Plenty—the Weather being warm for the Season. I shall find great Difficulty in preparing so large & fleshy a Bird—but will take Advice & do my best Endeavours.

The letter contains this sensational bit of news: "I had the Misfortune to be robbed last Tuesday Night of all the little Plate I had, Clothing &c to the Amount of 70 or £80—a very unlucky Circumstance for me at this Time."²

On December 9 Hopkinson, who had received Jefferson's letter of August 14, ended the argument by remarking drolly that he had not had time to examine Jefferson's

¹ *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed., Paul Leicester Ford), IV, 270-72.

² Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XXVI, 4415-16.

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"epistolary account," but that he believed the balance to be in his own favor. To show that he treasured no resentment he requested Jefferson to send him six bottles of vinegar, "such as we used to have at the Chev^r de la Luzerne's." This letter contains a rather puzzling reference to a subject that had twice before been obscurely mentioned in the correspondence. Jefferson's letter of January 3, 1786, had ended with this postscript: "What has become of the Lunarium for the King?" Again on August 14 he had asked: "When will the Lunarium be done?" To these inquiries Hopkinson replied: "The Lunarium is still in Contemplation & will, I believe, be executed some Time or other. The particular Ora may be within the Ken of inspired Prophecy, but is certainly not within the Reach of Astronomical Calculation." A "lunarium" is a mechanical device for representing the moon and its changes. From the word "ora" in the last sentence, however, it is probable that the apparatus referred to was the orrery, a mechanism for exhibiting the relative positions and motions of the members of the solar system. Rittenhouse had given to the University an orrery containing improvements of his own invention, and Hopkinson had represented this apparatus on the university seal; therefore it is probable that Jefferson was trying to persuade Rittenhouse to give one of his machines to the French government.¹

Jefferson's last letter of the year, written on December 23, touches a wide range of subjects. The writer mentions the *essence de l'orient*; two of Hopkinson's inventions, the spring-block and the harmonica; Krumfoltz' foot-bass for

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4493-94. For a description of the astronomical apparatus invented by Rittenhouse see William Barton, *Memoir of the Life of David Rittenhouse*, pp. 192 ff.; George Adams, *Lectures on Natural and Experimental Philosophy*, Vol. IV, chap. xliii.

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the piano or harpsichord; and a new method of making coins. With regard to Hopkinson's strange bird he says: "You must not presume too strongly that your comb-footed Bird is known to M. de Buffon. He did not know our panther." He remarks that he is hoping to get for Buffon a red and a blue deerskin, and antlers of the deer and elk.¹ This hint Hopkinson probably did not take, as his next letter, dated April 14, 1787, deals chiefly with his own inventions and literary work, and quite ignores the subject of antlers and deerskins.²

On July 8, 1787, Hopkinson notified Jefferson of two important events: the meeting of the Federal Convention at Philadelphia and the invention of the steamboat by John Fitch. With Rhode Island, which had not sent a delegation to the convention, he was very severe. "Rhode Island is at present govern'd by Miscreants void of even the external Appearance of Honour and Justice. She has in Effect, tho' not expressly withdrawn herself from the Union." In referring to the steamboat Hopkinson failed to show his usual acumen.

As to Philosophy—we abound with Schemers & Projectors. There is one *Fitch* who has been this Twelve Month endeavouring to make a Boat go forward with Oars worked by a Steam Engine. He has made several unsuccessful Attempts & spent much Money in the Project—and has heated his Imagination so as to be himself a Steam Engine. I have no Doubt but that a Boat may be urged forward by such Means, but the enormous Expense & Complexity of the Machine must prevent its coming into common Use.³

Jefferson's next communication, written on August 1, announced the arrival in Paris of Thomas Paine, bringing with him two bottles of Hopkinson's *essence de l'orient*.

¹ *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed., A. A. Lipscomb), VI, 20-23.

² Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XXIX, 4950-52.

³ *Ibid.*, XXX, 5223-24.

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The contents of both bottles had spoiled, so that the pearl merchant who examined the fluid was unable to decide whether or not Hopkinson had discovered the secret of making artificial pearls; he judged, however, "that there was still one thing wanting which made the secret of the art." Hopkinson's natural-history specimens had also been recieved, but they too had suffered in transit.

The leg and feathers of the bird are also arrived; but the comb, which you mention as annexed to the foot, has totally disappeared. I suppose this is the effect of its drying. I have not yet had an opportunity of giving it to Monsieur de Buffon, but expect to do it soon.¹

On December 14, 1787, Hopkinson sent Jefferson a brief account of the fight that had taken place between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists over the ratification of the Constitution,² and on April 6, 1788, he gave a more detailed account of the same struggle. In the latter he asked Jefferson's advice about the practicability of establishing a wax chandlery in Philadelphia. "My Circumstances require some Exertion. I know of nothing so promising."³

Jefferson, on May 8, 1788, sent Hopkinson this vigorous comment on government:

In France the King & the parliament are quarreling for the oyster. The shell will be left as heretofore to the people. Thus it is to have a government which can be felt; a government of energy. God send that our country may never have a government which it can feel.⁴

Two months later, on July 6, he wrote to inquire whether Bache, Franklin's grandson, would undertake to be American representative for M. Pissot, who had begun to print "some of the most remarkable of the English

¹ *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed., A. A. Lipscomb), VI, 205-9.

² *Library of Congress, Jefferson Papers*, XXXV, 6020.

³ *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 6575-76.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XXXIX, 6669-70.

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authors," and who wished to be recommended to a Philadelphia correspondent.¹

When Hopkinson next wrote, on July 17, he was still interested chiefly in the new Constitution, though he did, near the end of the letter, find space for a brief inquiry regarding conditions in France.

We hear of great Commotions in France. How is your Situation affected by them? I wish you were here during the Formation of our new Government. We shall be in Want of Men of Ability & Integrity to fill important Departments.²

On October 23 he announced that he was keeping a "sharp lookout" for his vinegar, which Jefferson had shipped on May 8. He had turned over to Dr. Franklin the letter referring to Pissot. Rittenhouse, Franklin, and he himself had all been in very poor health.³ And on December 1 he ended the correspondence of the year by sending Jefferson a package of books and papers. He was evidently a little disturbed by certain rumors he had heard about Jefferson's attitude toward the Constitution, for he remarked rather anxiously:

By the Bye, you have been often dish'd up to me as a strong Antifederalist, which is almost equivalent to what a *Tory* was in the Days of the War, for what Reason I know not—but I don't believe & have utterly denied the Insinuation.⁴

Jefferson's last letter of the year was dated December 21, and was supplemented by postscripts written on January 11 and 12, 1789. It gave some account of the political situation in Europe, and commented on the Constitution in a manner that was somewhat reassuring. He was glad to learn that the Constitution had been accepted, for he felt that the government was now "likely to answer

¹ Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XL, 6911. ³ *Ibid.*, XLIII, 7401-2.

² *Ibid.*, XLI, 6991-93.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XLV, 7728.

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its purposes better." He regretted the "perpetual reeligibility" of the president, and the absence from the document of a bill of rights; the first defect he was willing to leave until his fears had been "verified by experiment," but the second he hoped to see corrected at once.¹ Three months later, in his last letter from France, he vigorously denied that he was either a Federalist or an Anti-Federalist, though he professed to be more in sympathy with the former than with the latter.²

After Jefferson's return to America in 1790 he spent some time in New York, where Congress was then in session. While he was there, Hopkinson, on May 10, sent him a letter requesting a statement of their account.³ Jefferson, as might be expected, was able to furnish one, very carefully itemized, which he forwarded on June 13. According to this, Hopkinson owed for various art supplies and for the *Encyclopédie méthodique* and the *Bibliothèque physico-économique* four hundred and seventy-nine livres, twelve sous, or "80 French crowns wanting 8 sous."⁴ With regard to the bill Hopkinson replied on June 29:

I find the Expense of the Encyclopedia will exceed my Expectations, or rather my Abilities, & therefore if it should happen in your Way to dispose of that Work for me, I shall be willing to part with it, but not under the full Cost—Perhaps as they are making up a Library in New York, it might be acceptable there.⁵

This letter seems to imply that Hopkinson suffered financial difficulties during his last years, but it probably

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 7724-27.

² Letter of March 13, 1789. See *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed., Paul Leicester Ford), V, 75-78.

³ Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, LIV, 9301.

⁴ *Ibid.*, LV, 9383-85.

⁵ The Library of Congress has the bill that Hopkinson later sent to Jefferson. This shows that the latter owed seventeen pounds, one shilling, and three pence for books, papers, and magazines.

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should not be taken very seriously. The fact that he would not sell his books below cost is evidence that his situation was by no means desperate. Besides, the letter is a very cheerful one, except for the one gloomy sentence. Hopkinson is much pleased with his latest improvement of the harpsichord, and proudly announces that John Dickinson has ordered from Broadwood an instrument quilled in the new fashion. At the close of the letter he recommends to Jefferson's "friendly Notice" a Mr. Pollard, a "very worthy Citizen, formerly a considerable Merchant & lately one of our Magistrates," who has "a Project respecting a new Manufacture of Cotton."¹

Finally, on August 14, 1790, Jefferson informed Hopkinson that in a few days he would be in Philadelphia on his way to Virginia. As a last request, he asked Hopkinson to have some new parts made for his spinet, which he wished to have repaired by the time he joined his daughters at home in September.² So ends this long and interesting correspondence—a correspondence that reveals both writers as unselfish and obliging friends, eager and keen-minded students, and sane men with a sense of humor.

The growing interest in science revealed in Hopkinson's later correspondence was shown also in an increased activity in the work of the American Philosophical Society. From January 5, 1781, to January 12, 1791, he served as treasurer of the society.³ On September 21, 1781, he was appointed one of an auditing committee.⁴ In the spring of 1783 he made an effort to find a house "suitable to receive

¹ Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, LVI, 9520.

² *Ibid.*, LVII, 9713.

³ *Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, pp. 110, 114, 115, etc.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

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the Library and Cabinet" of the society.¹ On November 7 of the same year he was asked to collect and publish such communications to the society as were worthy of preservation.² On March 5, 1784, he was appointed on a committee³ "to consider the most eligible means of providing the Society with a suitable Building."⁴ On March 19 he was "added to the Certificate Committee,"⁵ for which he seems to have designed a membership certificate.⁶ On June 19 he was asked to "look out for" a gardener for the botanical garden which the society was about to plant.⁷ On November 12 he was made a member of a committee to consult the Chief Justice "respecting certain sections of the Charter of Incorporation."⁸ On November 19 he became one of a special committee appointed to publish the second volume of society *Transactions*.⁹ On March 18, 1785, he succeeded Ebenezer Hazard as curator of the society.¹⁰ On December 2 he and Franklin were appointed a committee to consider the proposal of John Hyacinth de Magellan, of

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

² *Ibid.*, p. 119.

³ Another member of this committee was Samuel Vaughan, whose portrait by Peale, owned by the society, resembles Hopkinson's portrait by Pine. In 1887 the Vaughan portrait was sent to the "Loan Exhibition of Historical Portraits," held by the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, where it was mistaken for a portrait of Hopkinson and so listed in the catalogue. The mistake was corrected in 1892 by C. H. Hart, Esq. See the *Proceedings*, XXV, 292.

⁴ *Early Proceedings*, p. 123. On March 12 Hopkinson informed Jefferson that there was a design on foot to erect buildings for the society and the Library Company on State House Square. "I yesterday drew up the Petition to the House to grant us the Ground necessary for these Purposes." The minutes show, however, that the society had on February 20 purchased a lot from Hopkinson. A list of the subscribers to the building fund, published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on November 1, 1786, shows that Hopkinson gave five pounds.

⁵ *Early Proceedings*, p. 124.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 125-26.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 128. The first volume had been published in 1771. On March 8, 1786, Hopkinson wrote to Jefferson: "I have at last brought our Ph. Society to consent to the Publication of a Second Volume of Transactions."

¹⁰ *Early Proceedings*, p. 130.

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London, who offered the society two hundred guineas, the income from which was to be used each year in buying a gold medal for the "author of the best Discovery, or most useful Improvement relating to Navigation or Natural Philosophy."¹ On January 5, 1786, he proposed a law to increase the membership dues of the society.² On January 20 he drafted the answer of the society to Magellan and drew up the rules under which the medal should be awarded.³ On July 21 he became one of a committee appointed "to forward the sales" of the second volume of society *Transactions* and to decide who should receive complimentary copies.⁴ On April 17, 1789, he was asked to help "prepare proper Rules respecting members who are to pay admission fees, or who may be exempted."⁵ On November 21 he was again appointed on a committee to select from the files of the society papers worthy of publication;⁶ to this committee he was reappointed on June 18, 1790.⁷ And on December 3 he was appointed a member of a committee "on the Laws of Membership."⁸

Early in 1784 an election of members held by the Philosophical Society was the occasion of an interesting bit of correspondence between Jefferson and Hopkinson. Writing from Annapolis on February 18, the former concluded his discussion of the possibilities of aeronautics with this sentence:

It is happy for us too that this invention happens just as philosophy is taking such a start in our own hemisphere: for I find by the last election of members to the Society there are no less than 21 new Philosophers found, every one of whom is superior to my country-man Madison.⁹

¹ *Early Proceedings*, p. 135.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 136-37.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 137-40.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁹ Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

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To this rather pointed sarcasm Hopkinson replied on February 23:

The Case of Mr Madison was this—The Candidates for Election were entered on two different Pieces of Paper—when the Election came on, one of those Papers was missing, in which was Mr Madison's Name, with the Names of other worthy Persons. This Paper has never been found. A Debate ensued & it was finally agreed to put the Names on the Paper in Hand alone to Vote. I have at last Meeting again entered Mr Madison as a Candidate. The Election will be in April. I doubt not but every Voter will be glad of such a Member.¹

On January 16, 1784, Hopkinson read before the society an address, "the tenor of which was to stimulate the members to more punctuality in attending the meetings of the Society, & with greater ardor to promote the important design of its institution."² This speech made such a good impression that on February 6 he "was asked to repeat his address; and after doing so, was requested to allow its publication."³ Hopkinson's efforts to keep the society up to a high pitch of enthusiasm were, like most efforts of the sort, not entirely successful. In reply to Jefferson's statement that in France the interest in "animal magnetism" had subsided,⁴ he wrote on April 20, 1785:

I am very sorry Animal Magnetism is at an End. I want much to magnetize our Philosophical Society which still lies in a deep Trance. It will probably come to Life one of these Days & repay the Expectation of the World by giving a full & true Account of the wonderful Visions & Prophecies it experienced during its State of Torpitude.⁵

¹ Letter in the Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, X, 1637. The minutes of the society show that Madison was elected on January 22, 1785. See the *Early Proceedings*, p. 129.

² *Early Proceedings*, p. 121.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 122. This address is published in *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 359-71.

⁴ See p. 343.

⁵ Letter in the Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XII, 2030-31.

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Hopkinson took an active part, not only in the executive business of the society, but also in its "philosophical" investigations and discussions. Like Franklin, he had a genuine interest in pure science and a strong ambition to be an inventor.¹ The second and third volumes of the *Transactions* contain several papers that he read before the society, and the *Early Proceedings* refer to many more. The first of these papers was a description of a mariner's log that he had invented. This apparatus consisted of a graduated arc, on which the speed of the vessel was indicated by an index, operated by the pressure of the water against a plate projecting from the side of the ship. This log, in the opinion of the inventor, was more accurate than the one in general use; certainly it was more convenient since the latter was dragged on a long rope in the wake of the ship. Hopkinson read this paper on July 11, 1783,² and later published it in the *Transactions* of the society,³ and in *The Miscellaneous Essays*⁴ under the title "Description of a Machine for Measuring a Ship's Way through the Sea." On September 26 of the same year he read a paper bearing the rather forbidding title, "An Account of a Worm in a Horse's Eye";⁵ and on December 5 he pre-

¹ That Franklin had a high opinion of Hopkinson's scientific and executive abilities is indicated by the following extracts from his will:

"The philosophical instruments I have in Philadelphia I give to my ingenious friend *Francis Hopkinson*.

"I request my friends Henry Hill, Esquire, John Jay, Esquire, Francis Hopkinson, Esquire, and Mr. Edward Duffield, of Benfield, in Philadelphia County, to be executors of this my last will and testament, and I hereby nominate and appoint them for that purpose" (see *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin* [ed., Albert Henry Smyth], X, 497 and 501.)

² *Early Proceedings*, p. 117.

³ II, 159-66.

⁴ I, 274-85.

⁵ *Early Proceedings*, p. 118. His paper is published in the *Transactions*, II, 183-84, and in *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 372-74.

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sented his first paper on "An Improved Method of Quilling the Harpsichord,"¹ discussed earlier in this chapter.

During 1784 Hopkinson presented only one paper, his second on the "Improved Method," which he read on December 9, and later published in the *Transactions*.²

On September 27, 1785, Hopkinson "exhibited East Indian scrip on cocoanut strips";³ and on October 21 he "read a full & particular Dissertation," written by Dr. Franklin, upon the various defects in the construction of chimneys.⁴ About the same time he himself worked out a homely but useful invention, which is not mentioned in the records of the society, but is described in the letter he wrote to Jefferson on September 28:

I have made an Ointment for greasing the Wheels of Carriages & the moving Parts of Mills or other Machines. It is Gum Elastic dissolved in Oil & made pretty thick with powdered black-Lead. I have not Time to give you the Reasons why this is an advantageous Ointment. Let the Experiment be tried. The only Disadvantage I fear is the Expense.⁵

On January 28, 1786, Hopkinson read a "Description of further Improvement in the Harpsichord,"⁶ the third and last of the series. This was followed on February 17 by "An Optical Problem, Proposed to Mr. Rittenhouse,

¹ *Early Proceedings*, p. 120; *Transactions*, II, 185-87.

² *Early Proceedings*, p. 128; *Transactions*, II, 187-90.

³ *Early Proceedings*, p. 133.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 133-34; *Transactions*, II, 1-36.

⁵ Letter in the Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XV, 2567-68.

⁶ *Early Proceedings*, p. 141; *Transactions*, II, 190-94. An account of his various experiments is published in *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 286-92. A manuscript account of Hopkinson's experiments with the harpsichord is preserved among the *Jefferson Papers* owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society. Mr. Edward Hopkinson has four manuscripts containing the original plan, further suggestions, and an agreement to be made with the purchasers of the invention.

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and Solved by Him.”¹ The problem was to determine why the meshes of a handkerchief appear, when one looks through them at a light, to remain stationary when the handkerchief is moved to the right and left.

From the Jefferson correspondence we learn that during the years 1786–87 Hopkinson was experimenting with the “armonica,” Franklin’s improvement of the musical glasses, which had become a very popular instrument since its invention in 1760, and which is thus described by Mr. O. G. Sonneck:

The improvement consisted in this, that Franklin arranged the glasses in taper form on a spindle connected with a wheel. This wheel served as a fly to make the motion equable, when the spindle, with the glasses, was turned by the foot like a spinning-wheel. The instrument was played upon by sitting before the middle set of glasses as before the keys of a harpsichord, turning with the foot, and rubbing the moving glasses that represented the desired tones with a wet finger.²

The nature of Hopkinson’s improvement is indicated in the following extract from Jefferson’s letter of December 23, 1786:

I am very much pleased with your project on the Harmonica, and the prospect of your succeeding in the application of keys to it. It will be the greatest present which has been made to the musical world this century, not excepting the Piano-forte. If its tone approaches that given by the finger as nearly only as the harpsichord does that of the harp, it will be very valuable.³

On April 14, 1787, Hopkinson replied:

I shall now begin again upon the Harmonica. From the Experiments I have made, I have no Doubt of the Success. I have already applied Keys to the Glasses, furnished with artificial Fingers which

¹ *Early Proceedings*, p. 141; *Transactions*, II, 201–6; *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 375–84. Writing to Jefferson on April 14, 1787, Hopkinson informed him that the problem had caused considerable interest in the Royal Society, where the experiment was performed by Lord Cavendish.

² *Francis Hopkinson*, p. 73.

³ *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed., A.A. Lipscomb), VI, 21–22.

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answered perfectly most delightfully in a great Part of the Scale. Where they did not succeed so well was owing to the Glass not being truly mounted, so that I must, I find, take off the Glasses from the Spindel & mount them anew.¹

Hopkinson's next reference to the subject, which occurs in his letter of July 8, indicates that his experiments were not entirely successful.

I succeeded in making the Harmonica to be played with Kees [*sic*] as far as I believe the Instrument is capable:—but it required too much Address in the Manner of wetting the Cushions for common Use. In the Course of my Experiments I discover'd a Method of drawing the Tone from Metal Bells by Friction—to an amazing Perfection—without the Necessity of Water or any Fluid. I am getting a Set of Bells cast, & expect to introduce a new musical Instrument—to be called the *Bellarmonica*.²

This is the last reference to the “armonica”; the bell-armonica, however, is mentioned again in a letter written by Jefferson on May 8, 1788. “I am anxious to know what progress you make with the Bellarmonica, which I think, if it can be made perfect, will be a great present to the Musical world.”³ Since Hopkinson's reply to this letter, written on October 23, contains no reference to the bell-armonica, it is probable that the instrument did not come up to the inventor's expectation.

Hopkinson's letter of April 14, 1787, mentions still another of his inventions.

I have invented this Winter a cheap, convenient & useful Appendage to a common Candle-Stick which keeps the Flame from being flared by the Wind in Summer or the Fire in Winter, & makes it a pleasant & steady Light to read & write by. I will give a Description & Drawing in the next month's Magazine.⁴

¹ Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XXIX, 4950-52.

² *Ibid.*, XXX, 5223-24.

³ *Ibid.*, XXXIX, 6669-70.

⁴ The description was published in the *Columbian Magazine*, May, 1787, and in *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 293-96. The American Philosophical Society has Hopkinson's model—a candlestick, with a shade around the candle.

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In the *Early Proceedings*, under date of May 4, 1787, there is a brief reference to a "letter from Hopkinson to Franklin, with drawing and description of a Chronometer on a new & very simple construction." In his letter of July 8, 1787, which contains much philosophical news, Hopkinson gives Jefferson a description of this "Contrivance for the perfect Measurement of Time." It consists of a syphon, the shorter leg of which passes through a floating cork large enough to bear up the whole apparatus. Since the entrance to the syphon is always the same distance below the surface of the liquid that bears up the cork, the rate of flow will be constant. Under the longer leg of the syphon is a glass tube, graduated in such a manner that "the rise of the Liquid in the Tube [will] designate the Hours & Parts of an Hour."

In March, 1790, Hopkinson published in the *Columbian Magazine* a description of a floating lamp that he had invented. During the same year he collaborated with Rittenhouse on a paper entitled "An Account of the Effects of a Stroke of Lightning on a House Furnished with Two Conductors," which was read before the Philosophical Society on October 16, and later was published in the *Transactions*.¹ In December of the same year he presented descriptions of two of his most ingenious inventions. For one of these inventions, a "spring-block designed to assist a vessel in sailing,"² he received on December 17 the first

¹ *Early Proceedings*, p. 184; *Transactions*, III, 122-25.

² Hopkinson had been working on this invention for several years. On September 28, 1785, he informed Jefferson that he had "discovered a simple Contrivance for assisting a Vessel in sailing or a Waggon in the Draught," and on May 1, 1786, he added the information that the invention was soon to be tried on the Delaware.

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Magellanic Prize¹ awarded by the society.² On the same day on which he received this prize Hopkinson read before the society a "Description of a Machine for Measuring a Ship's Way."³ Although the title was the same as that of an earlier paper, the apparatus described was quite different. This log consisted of a perpendicular tube containing a column of oil, supported by a column of sea water, which was admitted through an opening in the bow of the ship. When the vessel was in motion, the water entering through the open end of the tube was pressed upward with a force proportional to the speed of the ship. This pressure of the water caused the oil to rise to the upper part of the tube, which was made of glass, graduated to show the rate of speed at which the vessel was moving.⁴

Besides reporting the results of his own investigations, Hopkinson occasionally presented papers written by others. On March 7, 1788, he read before the society "A New Notation of Music, in a letter to Francis Hopkinson, Esq., by Mr. R. Patterson."⁵ On May 21, 1790, "three pamphlets on Cochineal [were] presented through Mr. Hopkinson." And on the same date "Joshua Humphrey's letter describing a Machine for drying grain, on the prin-

¹ This prize, a gold medal for which the society paid ten guineas, is now owned by Mrs. Florence Scovel Shinn. The obverse bears the inscription, "*Vires Acquiret Cedendo*. The Premium of John Hyacinth de Magellan of London, established in the year 1786." On the reverse is engraved, "Awarded by the American Philosophical Society to Francis Hopkinson: for his Invention of a Spring Block to Assist a Vessel in Sailing 1790."

² *Early Proceedings*, pp. 186-87. A description of the spring-block is published in the *Transactions*, III, 331-33.

³ *Early Proceedings*, p. 186.

⁴ This log is described in the *Transactions*, III, 239-41. In the Introduction to his paper Hopkinson explained that his first device had been found too complex for general use.

⁵ *Early Proceedings*, p. 159; *Transactions*, III, 139-43.

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principle of a Boulting mill; and a Steam Engine on the principle of Rumsey's Water mill were presented by Mr. Hopkinson."¹ Finally, on May 6, 1791, three days before his death, he presented "A Descriptive Catalogue of Engraved Gems."²

That Hopkinson continued during his latter years to take an interest in the musical life of the city is shown by the fact that in 1786 he served as manager of a "Grand Concert of Sacred Music," given on May 4, "for the benefit of the Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia Dispensary, and the Poor";³ and that in 1787 he became a patron of the Uranian Academy of Philadelphia, an institution organized for the teaching of church music.⁴

After the close of the Revolution, the American members of the Anglican church began to look forward to the formation of an independent organization. The first step toward separation was taken in 1785, when the General Convention, meeting at Philadelphia, decided to revise the *Prayer-Book*, which contained material unsuited to the use of the American church. The work of revision was assigned to Dr. William Smith and Dr. William White, who in preparing the new book called upon Hopkinson for assistance. Discussing the tunes to be inserted in the book, Dr. White wrote on January 17, 1786: "It was natural for me when on this subject with a gentleman of Mr. Hopkinson's taste to communicate to him our arrangement respecting the Psalms." To this Dr. Smith replied on January 23: "Mr.

¹ *Early Proceedings*, p. 182.

² *Ibid.*, p. 194.

³ *Pennsylvania Packet*, April 20 and 27, and May 1, 1786. See Mr. O. G. Sonneck, *Early Concert Life in America*, pp. 108-9.

⁴ On March 30, 1787, the *Pennsylvania Mercury* published a "Plan" of the Academy, which was "intended to be opened on the third Wednesday of September, 1787." See Sonneck, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

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Hopkinson's judgment will always have great weight with me, especially on a subject of elegance and taste." Again, on February 6, he wrote: "I pay great regard to the judgment of Mr. Hopkinson." That Hopkinson submitted some hymns of his own composition is proved by these words from Dr. White's letter of February 1: "I enclose you a little essay of Mr. Hopkinson for the Fourth of July and the first Thursday in November." These "essays," however, did not meet the approval of Dr. Smith, who rejected the hymn for the first Thursday of November, because it was "only another arrangement of some of the verses of the same Psalms" that had previously been used on that day; and the hymn for the Fourth of July, because it was "in many parts far too flat for that great occasion."¹ It is probable, nevertheless, that at least one of his contributions was accepted. In 1786 the committee published a prayer-book, commonly known as the *Proposed Book*, which contains an Appendix bearing the title, "Tunes Suited to the Psalms and Hymns of the Book of Common Prayer." "These tunes," says Mr. O. G. Sonneck, "are arranged according to their metre, and on the last page we notice a 'Proper Tune for Ps. 96th by F. H. 7th Metre.'"²

While collecting material for his *Francis Hopkinson, the First American Poet-Composer*, Mr. Sonneck found this interesting note in the *Historical Magazine* for January, 1859:

"I have also reason to believe that THE WASHINGTON MARCH, generally known by that title—I mean the one in key of G

¹ For the interesting discussion between Dr. Smith and Dr. White of the *Proposed Prayer-Book*, see Horace W. Smith, *The Life and Correspondence of William Smith*, II, 166 ff.

² *Francis Hopkinson*, p. 92.

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major, was composed by the Hon. Francis Hopkinson, senior, having seen it in a manuscript book of his in his own handwriting, among others of his known compositions.

J. C."

The above was published in the *Baltimore Clipper* in 1841, by a person who well understood the subject.

This note raised a very difficult problem. None of Hopkinson's known writings contain any reference to "The Washington March." On the other hand, Mr. Sonneck found in old collections several pieces of music, all bearing the title "Washington's March," and all written in the key of G major, but all apparently published after Hopkinson's day. Being able to find no further information at the time, Mr. Sonneck was obliged, when he published his monograph, to state the problem without attempting to solve it.¹ *Francis Hopkinson* was published in 1905; not long after this Mr. Sonneck found in the *Worcester Spy* of May 27, 1784, an account of a banquet, held on May 1, by the Sons of Tammany, at which a toast to the United Netherlands was drunk to the tune of "Washington's March." "Consequently," says Mr. Sonneck, "the Revolutionary origin of 'Washington's March' can no longer be doubted, and even Francis Hopkinson's authorship now becomes more plausible."²

In the library of the Harvard Musical Association, at Boston, there is a sheet of music bearing the heading "Ode from Ossian's Poems. The Music Composed by the Honourable Francis Hopkinson. Sold by Carr's Music Store, Baltimore." Since Joseph Carr's "Musical Repository," in Baltimore, was not established until 1794, this piece of

¹ *Francis Hopkinson*, pp. 95-104.

² From a note published in *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, April, 1906.

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music was evidently not published until after Hopkinson's death. As to the date of composition we have no evidence.¹

Hopkinson's church activities during his latter years were not confined to his work on the *Proposed Book*. When the Episcopal Academy was founded in 1785, he became one of the trustees² of the school. During the last three years of his life he was vestryman of Christ Church and St. Peter's.³

In 1786 he was sent as a lay deputy to the General Convention of the English church, where he was made secretary of that body; and in the Convention of 1789, which completed the organization of the American church, he served in a like capacity.⁴ In his letter of June 28, 1786, to Jefferson he gives this summary of the work accomplished by the conventions of 1785 and 1786:

I have been this Week past closely engaged in Church Business. We are making some Reform in our Discipline & Worship, for which the Revolution has afforded a very favourable Opportunity. Clerical & Lay Deputations from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, attended for this Purpose. A new Book of Common Prayer has been published for Consideration. I will send you one together with our Journals, when a better Opportunity offers than the Present. Our Organization will be complete, when we shall have obtained the *divine Succession in Consecration* from the Bishops of England—who seem well disposed to communicate it, as we

¹ The "Ode from Ossian's Poems" was edited by Mr. Carl Deis, and published by G. Schirmer, New York City, in 1920.

² His name appears in a request for subscriptions, published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on January 19, 1785, and in an account of the opening of the school, published in the same paper on April 6.

³ T. H. Montgomery, *A History of the University of Pennsylvania*, p. 297.

⁴ See the *Journals of the General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (ed., W. S. Perry).

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have a Letter to that Purpose signed by 19 Bishops of England. The Convention has made me their Secretary, so that I have had Business enough on hand.¹

Hopkinson's last ten years were much more peaceful than the previous decade. The quarrels that disturbed his quiet during Revolutionary days practically ceased, and the animosities that grew out of them were gradually forgotten.² He still enjoyed an occasional bout with his political opponents, but his later contests involved him in no serious difficulties. On the other hand, he enjoyed the friendship and esteem of three of the greatest men of his time—Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson. His services to his country were practically rewarded, and he was given congenial and useful work that left him leisure to indulge in his hobbies—science and literature. And, finally, he helped to reorganize the church which had always been a vital part of his life, and to make it a sympathetic and loyal part of the new nation that he had helped to found.

¹ Letter in the Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XXII, 3767. The only reference to the General Convention of 1789 that I have found in Hopkinson's correspondence appears in Robert Morris' jocular letter of August 15. See p. 325.

² Robert Morris, who in 1780 voted for Hopkinson's impeachment, in 1789 recommended him for the position of judge of the United States District Court. See pp. 261 and 325.

CHAPTER IX

LATER WRITINGS

The talent for satire that Hopkinson developed during the Revolution did not fall into disuse when the war came to an end, but found immediate employment in a political controversy which was at that time raging in Pennsylvania. In 1776 the state had adopted a constitution, which vested all the powers of government in a legislative body called the assembly. Since this assembly consisted of a single branch, and since it had the power, not only to make laws, but also to appoint executive and judicial officers, it was unhampered by checks and balances of any sort. Consequently, the party in power when the state constitution went into effect was able to build up an almost invincible political organization, and to remain in office indefinitely. This party, which adopted the name the "Whig Society," to suggest that it had some immediate connection with the party that had started the Revolution, was dominated by Thomas McKean, chief justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, and his associate, Justice George Bryan.

Strong as the Whigs were, they soon found numerous and powerful opponents. On March 24, 1779, there appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* a notice announcing the formation of a new party called the "Republican Society," organized to combat the Whigs and to fight for a new state constitution. This announcement was signed by eighty-two prominent citizens, among whom were Dr. Benjamin Rush, James Wilson, Robert Morris, and Francis Hopkinson. The Whigs were so strongly entrenched, however,

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that it was not until after the close of the Revolution that their opponents were able to make any headway against them.

The reaction, when it finally did set in, was greatly stimulated by the hard times caused by the war. The currency had depreciated to such an extent that business was completely demoralized. High prices oppressed every one, and reduced the poor to actual want. In 1783 mutinous soldiers demanding their pay terrorized the city of Philadelphia, and caused the members of Congress to flee to Princeton for safety. Since it is an American custom to impute all unfavorable conditions, from hard times to sun-spots, to the party in power, it is not surprising that many persons were ready to blame all their troubles on the Whigs—a disposition that the Republicans made no effort to discourage. Realizing that a fierce struggle was imminent, both sides enlisted the services of numerous political writers, who at once opened a newspaper war which lasted for a decade and which was marked by wordy battles of astonishing violence and ferocity.¹

Conspicuous in this inky struggle was the *Freeman's Journal*, a Constitutionalist paper edited by Francis Bailey. From its first appearance, in April, 1781, this paper attacked the Republicans with slander and abuse. Hopkinson, who neither agreed with the opinions nor admired the methods of Bailey, showed his disapproval of the latter by publishing in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, on April 2, 1782, a sketch entitled "The Rise of the *Freeman's Journal*." This skit, which is a parody on the witch scene in the fourth act of *Macbeth*, introduces three scribblers who

¹ The reader will find an interesting account of the struggle between the Constitutionlists and the Republicans in Mr. Burton Alva Konkle, *The Life and Times of Thomas Smith*. Thomas Smith was a half-brother of Dr. William Smith.

LATER WRITINGS

have met to prepare the "infernal ink," "fraught with Mischief, Discord, Care," with which the *Freeman's Journal* is printed. The malice of the scribblers is almost entirely without justification. One, it is true, wishes to revenge himself upon those who have prevented him from obtaining an office, but the other two are conspiring to blast the fame of a heroic name, and to turn to infamy the deeds of a senator renowned for wisdom, prudence, and truth.

Seeds of Discord will we sow,
Seeds that never fail to grow.
Dire Dissension, Envy, Hate
Shall not cease to propagate.
Num'rous shall their Offspring be
Scorpion tongu'd—Hell's Progeny,
Fair is foul & foul is fair,
Haste, th' infernal Ink prepare!

The latter part of the sketch, which contains altogether nearly one hundred lines, consists chiefly of a catalogue of the unsavory ingredients that the scribblers use in preparing their ink. In the end Morpheus appears and rewards the scribblers for their pains by giving each of them a quill plucked from a goose's wing.¹

"The Rise of the *Freeman's Journal*" was signed "Calumniator." Two weeks after the appearance of the skit, the author published in the *Packet* a rather dull sequel, in the form of an agreement between the editor and "Calumniator." By the terms of this agreement the former promised not to divulge the name of the contributor, and the latter pledged himself to pay the costs of any libel suits that he might cause to be brought against his publisher.²

¹ The manuscript of "The Rise of the *Freeman's Journal*" is in the *Huntington Collection*. The sketch was not republished in *The Miscellaneous Essays*.

² I have no doubt that Hopkinson is the author of this agreement, though I have never found it among his manuscripts.

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In April, 1782, the Pennsylvania Assembly passed an act directing that all the trees in the streets of Philadelphia be cut down. The reasons for this extraordinary measure were thus set forth in the bill:

Trees growing in the public streets, lanes, and alleys of the said city of Philadelphia do obstruct the prospect and passage through the same, and also disturb the water-courses and foot-ways, by the extending and encrease of the roots thereof, and must tend to spread fires when any break out within the said city.

As a man of common sense Hopkinson no doubt saw the absurdity of this law. Moreover, he had read not long before Jan Ingenhousz's *Expériences sur les végétaux*, from which he had gathered considerable information about the value of shade trees to mankind.¹ Therefore he felt impelled to protest the act, which he did by publishing in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, on August 21, a fable entitled "A Speech of a Standing Member, the Plea of a Citizen Tree."² This fable refutes the arguments set forth by the framers of the law, and shows that the benefits that men enjoy from the presence of shade greatly outweigh the inconveniences they occasionally suffer when a tree happens to stand in their way. In accordance with his usual custom Hopkinson sent a copy of his article to Franklin, who wrote to him on December 24, 1782:

I thank you for your ingenious Paper in favour of the Trees. I own I wish we had two Rows of them in every one of our Streets. The comfortable Shelter they would afford us, when walking, from our burning Summer Suns, and the greater Coolness of our Walls & Pavements, would I conceive, in the improved Health of the Inhabitants, amply

¹ Franklin referred to Ingenhousz's book in a letter written to Hopkinson on March 6, 1780. Hopkinson's "Speech of a Standing Member" mentions Ingenhousz, and shows familiarity with his work. For Franklin's letter see his *Writings* (ed., Albert Henry Smyth), VIII, 32-33.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 252-73. Here it has the title, "Speech of a Post in the Assembly Room," and is signed "Silvester."

LATER WRITINGS

compensate the Loss of a House now and then, by Fire, if such should be the Consequence. But a Tree is soon fell'd; and, as Axes are at hand in every Neighborhood, may be down before the Engines arrive.¹

The fable accomplished the purpose for which it was written, for on March 23, 1783, Hopkinson wrote to Franklin: "You flatter my Vanity by approving of my Piece respecting the Trees. The Law was repealed & the Innocents were saved from Slaughter."²

Hopkinson's next contribution to the political literature of the times was a group of two articles and a poem, all occasioned by the following incident:

Mr. OSWALD, the printer of the *Independent Gazetteer*, having published some free strictures on the conduct of the supreme court, the judges ordered him to be indicted for a libel. The grand jury, after a full enquiry, returned the bill *ignoramus*. The judges, enraged at this refusal, attempted to overawe them by severe reproofs in open court, and sent them back for reconsideration: but the jury adhered to their verdict; and justified themselves in a public address in the papers. Some essays on the subject of grand juries appeared in answer, generally believed to be written by the judges themselves, under the signatures of JURISPERITUS and ADRIAN.³ And these occasioned the following observations in return.

In the first of these articles, "On the Office and Rights of a Grand Jury,"⁴ published in the *Packet* on January 25, 1783, Hopkinson attacked a communication from "Adrian," which had appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* on January 15. "Adrian" had complained that in the case against Oswald the grand jury had acted upon information other than that presented by the witnesses in court. Hop-

¹ *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (ed., A. H. Smyth), VIII, 647.

² American Philosophical Society, *Franklin Papers*, XXVII, 228.

³ In a footnote Hopkinson explains that "Jurisperitus" and "Adrian" were Chief Justice Thomas McKean and Associate Justice George Bryan.

⁴ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 194-218. The article is preceded by the preliminary note quoted above and is signed "One of the People."

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kinson in reply quoted legal authorities to prove that it is the privilege and duty of a grand jury to use every available source of information before coming to a decision. "Adrian" had implied that "nothing less than the absolute impossibility of procuring even probable proof" against the accused should be accepted by a grand jury as grounds for acquittal. Hopkinson showed that the purpose of trial by grand jury is to give the accused "all possible chance for his vindication." And, finally, he showed that "Adrian" had been in error in asserting that a grand jury is "no more than a legal machine, to be governed and controlled in all of its movements by the judges of the court."

Hopkinson's letter on the rights and duties of grand juries was followed a week later by another on the same subject, which he presented "To the People,"¹ through the columns of the *Independent Gazetteer*. In this article he took issue with "Jurisperitus," who had tried to prove the assertions of "Adrian" by quoting certain passages from Blackstone, but had been obliged to leave out one important sentence that would have completely destroyed his argument. This sentence the Judge of Admiralty obligingly supplied. Like its predecessor, this letter is too technical to be of general interest, but it is enlivened to a slight extent by this fable, written to show that liberty had enemies at home as well as abroad:

A CERTAIN man had an undoubted right to a valuable farm. It was his living—it was his all. A powerful lord wished to possess this farm, and sent his servants to take the title deeds by force. The good man locked up his papers in his closet, and arming himself at all points, went forth to combat his adversary: but, alas! whilst he was in the field, the rats were gnawing his deeds in the closet.

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 219-27. The letter is signed "Caution."

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The third paper of the series—"I've a Thought—What's It Like?"¹—is described by the author as being "a descant on Adrian's assertion that a grand jury is nothing more than a *legal machine*, subject to the direction and controul of the court." It would be hard to find a more prosaic subject, one would think, yet Hopkinson treats it in verse. To a social group sitting around a hearth on a winter night one of the number propounded a riddle, which may be paraphrased, "Why is a grand jury like a broom, a door, a clock, a wagon, a lute, and a barber's block?" The answers worked out by various members of the party are ingenious and amusing.

So a grand jury's but a besom,
Which judges use as it may please 'em
To sweep poor rogues and felons great
From all the precincts of the state.

Again, a grand jury resembles a broom because it is ridden by the judge as a broom is ridden by a witch. A grand jury is like a door for various reasons: It is empaneled, it is secured by a bar, it lets people in or shuts them out, and it is locked and unlocked by the judge. A clock is wound, set, started, and made to strike by "the master's over-ruling hand." In like manner,

A jury's power exists or ceases,
According to the court's caprices,
Nor dare, or to release, or damn us,
By a *true bill*, or *ignoramus*;
Unless the judge first gives the cue,
T'inform them what they ought to do.

Finally, a player began to compare the jurymen to the horses drawing a wagon:

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 228-38.

LIFE AND WORKS OF FRANCIS HOPKINSON

The judge the driver may resemble,
With whip in hand, to make them tremble,
To lash them well with points of law,
Should they presume to GEE or HAW;
Or stand stock still, or change their station,
Against his honour's inclination.

Here the leader of the game interrupted the speaker to remind him that it was his task to compare the grand jury with a wagon, and not with a horse, which is an animated creature far above a "mere machine." At this point the writer evidently grew weary of his task, for at the end of the leader's reproof he wrote the words "*cetera desunt*," without attempting to show in what respects a grand jury resembles a lute and a barber's block.¹

In November, 1782, John Dickinson succeeded Joseph Reed as president of Pennsylvania, after a stormy campaign in which he defeated General James Potter, who had the support of the retiring president and of the Constitutionalist party. So bitter was the fight between the two factions that the quarrels aroused during the campaign continued almost without abatement during Dickinson's administration. In this struggle the *Freeman's Journal* reached the climax of its career as a vilifier by publishing the letters of one "Valerius," who heaped upon Dickinson the most violent and unmerited abuse. For example, the President was accused of being a traitor because he had opposed the Declaration of Independence. He was also accused of having given up his commission in the army through cowardice, though in reality he had not resigned until after his successor had been appointed by the hostile Whig assembly. After a time Eleazer Oswald, editor of the

¹ Although this is much the most amusing of Hopkinson's contributions to the grand-jury controversy, I have not found it in any of the Philadelphia papers.

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Independent Gazetteer, came to the defense of Dickinson with such vigor that he soon, as Hopkinson said, "out-did Bailey in his own way." The result was that "between the two, calumny and slander were carried to a greater extent than was ever known, perhaps, in a civilized city." When the quarrel was at its height, Hopkinson, who had always opposed newspaper abuse, turned the whole affair into ridicule by writing an extremely humorous political allegory, which he called "A Full and True Account of a Terrible Up roar Which Lately Happened in a Very Eminent Family."¹

The "Eminent Family" was that of the Lady Pennsylv a, who had been left a widow by the decease of her husband, Patriotism, just before the birth of her son, Independence. At the time of the birth of the child, Lady Pennsylv a had a wet-nurse named Reedina. After a time, however, Reedina's milk "dried away," and the mother therefore was obliged to hire another nurse.² Reedina tried to persuade her mistress to appoint a friend of hers named Potterina, but a number of the servants who did not like Reedina persuaded their mistress to appoint a Mrs. Richardson.³ The household now became divided into two hostile camps. Among those on the side of Mrs. Richardson were Kitty Oswald, the chambermaid;⁴ Peggy Rush, the cook;⁵ and Jacob Rush, the cook's brother: while on the side of Reedina were Thomas, the chief steward;⁶ George, the under steward;⁷ Fanny Belly, the second

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 297-315. A reference to the trouble between McKean and Oswald indicates that this allegory was written about the same time as the "Adrian" tracts, but I have not found it in the Philadelphia press.

² The Pennsylvania Constitution provided that a new president be elected every three years.

³ John Dickinson.

⁵ Dr. Benjamin Rush.

⁴ Eleazer Oswald, ed., *Independent Gazetteer*.

⁶ Chief Justice McKean.

⁷ Judge George Bryan, justice of the Supreme Court.

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chambermaid;¹ Jonathan, the late coachman;² and several others. "These persons, however opposed to each other, equally professed a warm attachment to young *Independence*, and to the interests of the family; but neither side would allow that the other had any sincerity in these professions."

After arraying the forces on each side, Hopkinson pauses a moment to invoke the muse of Butler and Fielding,³ before attempting to describe the Homeric battle that took place between the two chambermaids some time after the arrival of Nurse Richardson. The trouble began with a quarrel, which Hopkinson describes in such a manner as to suggest both the violence and indecency of the rival papers. Finally, after both had rather well exhausted their stores of abuse, Fanny replied to a taunt "by spitting full in Kitty's face: and so to fisty-cuffs they went without further ceremony."

As a dog, which hath not only a natural hatred, but a contempt for the cat, (who, though the weaker animal, excels in cunning and malice), should puss presume to lift her paw against him, seizes and shakes her until his mouth is filled with hair, the spoils of the enemy: just so the enraged *Kitty* fell furiously upon poor miss *Belly*, and tore from her head, not only her gauze cap, but a handful of those ornaments, in which, like Sampson's, her chief strength lay: for *Fanny* was proud of her locks, as they were very pliable, and would set any way her admirers chose they should: she, however, like grimalkin aforesaid, flew upon her adversary, and in a moment imprinted *eight* lines of vengeance on *Kitty's* cheeks, which lamented the injury in tears of blood.⁴

¹ Francis Bailey, ed., *Freeman's Journal*.

² Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant.

³ Mr. Edward Hopkinson has a copy of *Hudibras*, in which is written this inscription: "The present of Mr Jacob Duché Jun^r to Francis Hopkinson, December, 1757." It will be remembered that in 1766 Hopkinson sent home from Dublin a copy of *Tom Jones*.

⁴ The influence of the "muse of Fielding" is perceptible in this paragraph. Fielding, describing Mrs. Partridge's attack on her husband, says: "His wig

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The uproar came to an end when Lady Pennsylvia appeared on the scene and rebuked her servants severely for their outrageous behavior. She reminded them that by this conduct they not only brought themselves into discredit with their French, Dutch, and Spanish neighbors,¹ but also endangered the life of young Independence, upon whom all their future happiness and safety depended.

Hopkinson's next political essay, like the reply to "Adrian," is provided with a convenient introductory note explaining the circumstances under which it was written:

CONGRESS had, from some disgust, suddenly removed from Philadelphia to Princetown in New-Jersey: but, finding themselves but ill accommodated there, they took into consideration the fixing upon some suitable place for their permanent residence. In canvassing this question, the eastern and southern delegates could not agree on a situation equally convenient for both. On motion of Mr. G—² it was at length determined, that congress should have two places of alternate residence: one on the banks of the Potowmack, and the other on the banks of the Delaware: and it was resolved, that congress should not remain less than six months, nor more than two years at either of these places at one time. But as there was no town on the Potowmack fit for their reception, they, for the present, adjourned to Annapolis. This circumstance gave occasion for the following publication.

The publication referred to is a mock scientific essay entitled "Intelligence Extraordinary,"³ which first ap-

was in an instant torn from his head, his shirt from his back, and from his face descended five streams of blood denoting the number of claws with which nature had unhappily armed the enemy."

¹ On December 24, 1782, Franklin wrote to Hopkinson: "I deem you do well to avoid being concerned in the Pieces of Personal Abuse so scandalously common in our Newspapers that I am afraid to lend any of them here till I have examined & laid aside such as would disgrace us." See *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (ed., A. H. Smyth), VIII, 647.

² Elbridge Gerry made this motion on October 17, 1783. For an account of the difficulties experienced by Congress in selecting a site for the national capital the reader is referred to Mr. Varnum L. Collins, *The Continental Congress at Princeton*.

³ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 178-83. The essay is signed "A. B."

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peared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on October 29, 1783. The essay begins with a description of a new phenomenon in mechanics which "cannot fail to engage universal attention":

The Americans having observed the great irregularities to which the political systems of Europe are liable, have invented a method of regulating the affairs of their empire by ACTUAL MECHANISM. For this purpose an immense pendulum hath been constructed, of which the point of suspension is fixed somewhere in the orbit of the planet *Mars*, and the *Bob* is composed of certain heterogeneous matter of great specific gravity, called the *American Congress*.

This miraculous pendulum is to vibrate between Annapolis, on the Chesapeake, and Trenton, on the Delaware; a range of about 180 miles. After discussing learnedly the motion of the pendulum, which cannot be explained by "any of the rules within the present system of mathematics," the author points out one advantage that will be gained by establishing an oscillating capital. The foreign ambassadors will have so much difficulty in following the migrations of Congress that their governments will be obliged to appropriate money to keep the roads between Annapolis and Trenton in repair. On the other hand, difficulties may arise.

Some have thought that when this *monstrous* pendulum shall be once set in motion, it will not be possible to confine it within the proposed limits; but that it will by its great weight (contrary to the usual laws of gravitation) enlarge its field of action, and acquire a velocity which will cause it to swing from New-Hampshire to Georgia.

Many philosophers believe that the "most regular and proper motion of a pendulum" is in a horizontal circle.

Should this idea prove just (which Mr. Rittenhouse has been directed to ascertain) the revolutions of America will be performed in a circle, whose diameter, north and south, will be from a point in St. John's river, Nova-Scotia, to the mouth of the great river Mississippi, and west and east, from the Lake in the Woods, to an unknown distance in the Atlantic ocean."

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The "Intelligence Extraordinary" was followed by a much more clever article entitled "A Summary of Some Late Proceedings in a Certain Great Assembly,"¹ which was printed in the *Freeman's Journal* on November 26, 1783.² Some time before they had passed the resolution to establish two capital cities, Congress "had resolved that an equestrian statue, in honour of General Washington, should be erected in the place where their residence should be fixed." In "A Summary" Hopkinson professes to give a true account of the efforts of the House to surmount the difficulties created by these two resolutions. One ingenious member, well versed in his Homer, proposed that the horse should be placed on wheels, so that it could be "adjourned" from one city to another along with Congress. In fact, the body of the horse, if constructed like the hull of a ship, would make a convenient vehicle in which to convey the members themselves with all their books and papers. Another member, however, had a still more ingenious plan, namely, that of moving the entire city back and forth between the Delaware and Potomac. He first pointed out that there could be nothing absurd in such a scheme, since nature had furnished examples in the portable houses of the snail and tortoise. Neither was it impracticable, since he himself had seen a tinker living comfortably in a house mounted on wheels and drawn about the country by a single horse.

But I have an instance, said he, more directly in point—I mean that of the empress of Russia; who, when she removes her court from Petersburg to Moscow, is accommodated with elegant apartments, built on sleds, and drawn by fifty horses, over a tract of snow many hundred miles in extent.

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 184-93.

² It seems rather improbable that Hopkinson should have contributed to the *Freeman's Journal* after having attacked it as he had done. I have not, however, found "A Summary" in any other paper.

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And, finally, he clinched the matter by producing a copy of Cyrano de Bergerac's *A Voyage to the Moon*, from which he read a description of the manner in which a whole city, built on wheels, equipped with sails, and propelled by bellows, had moved across country at the rate of a hundred leagues in eight days.

The house was astonished at the extensive genius of the projecting member; and immediately adjourned; having first recommended it to each other to consider against the next meeting, if any objections could possibly be made to the last proposed scheme.

A year after Hopkinson wrote his letters "On the Office and Rights of a Grand Jury" he returned to the same general subject again in a pamphlet¹ entitled "Observations of a Foreigner on the Jury Trials of England."² In this essay the writer traces step by step the progress of a trial from the summoning of the grand jury to the handing down of the verdict. The duties of the sheriff, the grand jury, the petit jury, the prosecuting attorney, the council for the defense, and the judge are explained in detail, and the strong and weak points in the system are carefully pointed out. Though excluded from the field of literature by the technical nature of the material, the essay has a conciseness and lucidity which make it a model of exposition.

In his next political tract Hopkinson turned for his subject from English jurisprudence to local affairs. About this time the Philadelphia street commissioners had grown so neglectful of their duties that a large amount of rubbish had collected in the public thoroughfares. In order to call

¹ Since the essay is long, and since it is provided, in the manuscript owned by the American Philosophical Society, with a title-page, I suspect that Hopkinson intended to publish it as a pamphlet. It is not, however, listed by Hildburn, Sabin, or Evans.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 194-224. The two letters are dated January 1783, and February 1, 1783; "Observations of a Foreigner" is dated February 15, 1784.

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the attention of the people to the unsanitary condition of the town, Hopkinson on March 10, 1784, published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* an amusing skit which he called "Some Account of a New Work Entitled *Dialogues of the Dead*."¹ After explaining how the *Dialogues* came into his possession and discussing in a pompous manner the opinions of the author of the work with regard to the intercommunication of those who have departed this life, Hopkinson quotes what purports to be an extract from the book. This extract is a dialogue between a dead dog and a dead cat lying in the middle of a Philadelphia street. To the dog, who is a new arrival, the cat explains their presence in this public place. Through the investigations of a certain Edinburgh professor, the street commissioners have learned that decaying refuse is conducive to health; therefore they are using the tax formerly spent to keep the city clean to stock the streets with carcasses. The "Account" is a vigorous specimen of writing, but too unsavory to attract many readers.²

The "Dialogues of the Dead" evidently caused some discussion. On March 17 a writer signing himself "Justitia" published in the *Gazette* a reply to Hopkinson's attack; and on March 24 Hopkinson himself, in order to prevent interest in the subject from dying out, contributed to the same paper a letter beginning with a vindication of the street commissioners, and ending with this furious attack on their critic:

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 327-39. Mr. Edward Hopkinson has a rough draft of the manuscript.

² On March 12, 1784, Hopkinson wrote to Jefferson: "I have also taken our Street Comm^{rs} in hand, as you see by the enclosed. One might truly say they stunk for a Whipping. I expect some good Effects from the Flagellation. I have the Assent of the whole City in my Favour." Letter in the Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, X, 1647.

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Before I bid you adieu, Sir, I would give you a piece of friendly advice—Cease, then, to wanton without controul, either through malice or inattention, in defamation and scurrility, lest, to your eternal infamy, the *Lex talonis* be finally appealed to. Recollect, and attend to the ancient proverb—*Non ultra crepidam sutor*—and above all, meddle not in the future with such dirty animals as you seemed fond of in your last performance, lest we suspect you to be related to them by the closest bands of nature.¹

George Bryan, justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, was one of the Whig leaders who in 1776 secured the adoption of the constitution, under which he and his colleague, Thomas McKean, long held control of the state. A successful boss in a state that has ever been famous for its bosses, he reached the height of his power in the Assembly of 1779–80, when he served as chairman of twenty-seven of the thirty-nine committees appointed.² On November 24, 1784, Hopkinson, who had already attacked McKean on several occasions, published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* an exceedingly clever bit of humor in which he paid his respects to Bryan. The author, who signs himself "Projector," begins this unique essay by stating that he is a surveyor by profession, and that he has long aspired to serve mankind by working out some useful invention. In the past he has been obliged to content himself with discoveries of limited importance; but he has now, by the merest accident, hit upon a project which from the novelty of its design, "and its affording a considerable gratification at small expense," should entitle him to some reputation

¹ Finding this letter in the *Gazette*, I accepted it as a bona fide reply from one of the street commissioners; and when I wrote my thesis, I treated it as such. When I revisited Philadelphia three years later, I found the reply among some Hopkinson manuscripts that Mr. Edward Hopkinson had in the meantime discovered in a little chest in the attic. The "Account" is signed "A. B.," the reply "C. D."

² See Mr. Burton Alva Konkle, *The Life and Times of Thomas Smith*, pp. 123–24.

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with the public. The circumstances that led to this discovery were as follows: "I, not long since, surveyed a tract of land, the boundaries of which were so singular, that when I came to plot the lines and courses from my table book, I was surprised to find that the survey exhibited the lines of a human face." A careful study of this plot convinced the surveyor that he had hit upon a very simple method of making portraits. All he needed to do was to measure the features of the subject and record the courses and distances; with these directions as a guide, he was then able to draw a perfect likeness of the person who had been "surveyed." To illustrate the operation of his invention the "Projector" then gives the courses and distances of the tract in question, draws in the lines, and produces a droll and easily recognizable cartoon of Judge Bryan.

When Hopkinson's collected works were published, the article on "Surveying Applied to Portrait Painting" was printed in the second volume,¹ while the cartoon appeared in Volume I,² along with the drawings of his candlestick and harpsichord tongue. Since the essay mentions no name, and since the cartoon has no descriptive title or other means of identification, the significance of both became entirely lost to the succeeding generation. About forty years ago, the late Honorable George S. Bryan, United States district judge for South Carolina, while looking through the Hopkinson manuscripts owned by the American Philosophical Society, came upon the picture, which he recognized as a caricature of his grandfather, whom he remembered. A friend of Judge Bryan told the story of the identification to Mr. Burton Alva Konkle, who published it in his *Life and Times of Thomas*

¹ Pp. 127-37.

² P. 296.

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Smith. Some time later Mr. Konkle, in a lecture at the University of Pennsylvania, told the story of the cartoon, and remarked incidentally that the accuracy of Judge Bryan's memory could not be verified; since no portrait of the old judge existed. After class, however, a student came to the desk and told Mr. Konkle that a friend of his living in the country had a portrait that resembled Hopkinson's cartoon. Mr. Konkle, of course, lost no time in examining this picture, which proved to be a portrait of Judge Bryan, and which completely established the identity of Hopkinson's caricature.

When Benjamin Franklin came home from France in the fall of 1785, he was granted such an ovation as no American had ever before received. The newspapers of the city vied with one another in eulogizing him, the orators strewed flowers of rhetoric in his path, and the learned societies and other organizations held special meetings in his honor. Among the first to welcome him was the American Philosophical Society, which, on September 27, two days after his arrival, gave him a reception, at which Chief Justice McKean made a formal address on behalf of the organization. This address of welcome, which was published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on October 1, is such an awkward specimen of English composition that it inspired Hopkinson to attempt a bit of literary criticism. Accordingly, he wrote a dialogue in which A, who is not a member of the Society, and B, who is, discuss the Chief Justice's speech. Said the first:

I am surprised that our Philosophical Society, from whom we might expect, on such an occasion, at least ease and propriety, if not something more, should exhibit so barren, so stiff and costive a performance, as their address seems to be: it must certainly have been seethed too long in the author's brain, and so become hard like an over-boiled egg.

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B, after remarking that the reference to brains proves that A is not a member of the society, goes on to explain how addresses like the one in question are prepared.

You must know we have four boxes: in one are put a number of *substantives*, the best the dictionary affords; in the second, an equal number of *adjectives*; in the third, a great number of *verbs*, with their *participles*, *gerunds*, &c. and in the fourth, a still greater number of *pronouns*, *articles*, and *particles*, with all the small ware of the syntax. The secretary shakes these boxes for a considerable time, and then places them side by side on a table, each bearing its proper label of distinction. This done, the members proceed to ballot for the composition, whatever it may be; each member taking out one substantive, one adjective, two verbs, and four particles from the boxes respectively; and so they proceed, repeating the operation, until they have drawn the number of words, of which, according to a previous determination, the composition is to consist. Some ingenious member is then requested to take all the ballots or words so obtained, and arrange them in the best order he can.¹

A remarks that such a method of composition sufficiently accounts for sentences like the following, which he quotes from McKean's address:

The high consideration and esteem in which we hold your character, so intimately combine with our regard for the public welfare, that we participate eminently in the general satisfaction which your return to America produces. . . . We derive encouragement and extraordinary felicity from an assemblage of recent memorable events; and while we boast in a most pleasing equality, permanently ascertained, &c. &c.

B maintains that the first sentence is clear:

The meaning of your first quotation is, that our high consideration for the doctor, combining and intimately mixing with our regard for the public welfare, occasion a kind of chymical solution or effervescence in our minds, producing a *tertium quid*, which causes us to *participate eminently*; and so on—if you know any thing of chymistry, you would have understood it well enough.

¹ This passage was obviously suggested by Swift's account of Gulliver's visit to the Academy of Lagado.

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He confesses that the second sentence is rather hard to understand, but insists that the speaker was not to blame for its obscurity. While the Chief Justice was arranging what would have been the most elegant paragraph of his address, a puff of wind blew away a number of his explanatory words. Someone suggested that the society ballot again, but certain members objected, because they feared that such action might prove a dangerous precedent.

In spite of all these explanations, A is still unable to see anything admirable in the Chief Justice's speech, which he characterizes as "a performance which would indeed disgrace a school boy."

When I compare this address with the president's short, but elegant, reply, I cannot but observe how strongly the difference is marked between an author who sits down to think what he shall write, and one who only sits down to write what he thinks.¹

The struggle between the Constitutionalists and Republicans reached its height in the autumn of 1785. On September 28 Hopkinson sent to Jefferson this summary of the situation:

Party Politics run high—& the Fever heightens as the general Election approaches. We are divided distinctly into two Parties under the names of the *Constitutionalists* & the *Republicans*. The Republicans are those who wish to have two Branches of Legislature—The Constitutionalists wish to have but one, especially since they are in Power & have the Management of it. They have endeavour'd to support their Influence by removing out of the Way with a high Hand all the Institutions that are thought not to be in their Interest. They some Time ago took the College out of the Hands of the Loyal Trustees & have lately most arbitrarily retracted and annulled the Charter of the National Bank—because they hated Mr Morris personally & because the Di-

¹ The "Dialogue on the Address of the Philosophical Society to Dr. Franklin" is published in *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 69-75, with a note stating that it was written for the *Pennsylvania Packet*. I have not, however, found the "Dialogue" in the *Packet* or in any other paper.

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rectors were not under their Influence. There will probably be a tight Struggle next Month for Power—the Contest will be for a Ride in the one-horse Chaise. It is agreed by all that Dr Franklin is to be the President of the State & he seems willing to accept the Charge. But, in our Constitution, two or three leading Members of the House drive the political Coach, the President is the Footman of the Ch: Justice [who] rides in the Body of the Carriage—and the People run whooping & hallowing along side, choak'd with Dust & bespatter'd with Mire.¹

In the summer of 1785 the Pennsylvania Assembly passed a law providing that at the October election the polls, which customarily opened about two o'clock in the afternoon, should close promptly at eight o'clock in the evening. Hopkinson, who believed that the Constitution-
alists were planning to crowd the polling-place and prevent belated Republicans from voting, published in the *Packet* of October 7 a letter "To the Freemen of Pennsylvania,"² in which he attacked the law as a violation of the state constitution. Whatever the purpose of the law, the effect was not what Hopkinson anticipated.

At the ensuing election, it was manifest when eight o'clock drew near, that the run of votes had been in favour of the republican ticket: soon afterwards a strong body of the constitutionalists came up to vote, but the clock struck, and it was insisted that the election should be closed according to the law. The chief-justice (M'Kean) who was on the ground, was consulted on the occasion, and he gave his opinion, that the election might be kept open for another hour, *to allow for the variation of watches*: but no attention was paid to such an absurd opinion: the doors were closed with great shoutings, and the republican ticket was successful.³

Although the Republicans carried the election in Philadelphia and made Franklin president of the state,⁴ the Constitutionalists were still so strong in the assembly that

¹ Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XVI, 2567-68.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 76-83.

³ Hopkinson's note.

⁴ See p. 346.

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they were frequently able to defeat their opponents.¹ To assist the Republicans in their fight, Hopkinson, on November 5, 1785, published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* "A Word of Advice; or the Pennsylvania Assemblyman's *Vade-Mecum*."² The advice consists of six "rules of legislative conduct," all of which are more or less general, but some of which have a particular local application. These rules may be summarized as follows:

1. The legislator should realize that his work is serious and important
2. He should consider himself a representative not only of the county that elected him, but of the state at large; consequently he should not sacrifice the interests of the state to those of the county
3. He should not delegate his powers to another or take part in caucuses, as do the members of the Constitutional party
4. It is highly improper to ask judges of the Supreme Court to frame bills or to revise those already framed. "If the same officious hands are to cook our broth and make us sup it, we shall soon have reason to complain of scalded mouths and sick stomachs"
5. The records of the Assembly should be kept with scrupulous care
6. The legislator should exercise judgment, firmness, and integrity in voting

When the Constitutionals annulled the charter of the National Bank, Thomas Paine attacked them in an essay entitled "The Affairs of the Bank."³ Not long after the appearance of this tract, Hopkinson prepared to join Paine in the fight by writing an ironical reply entitled "The Remarks of Uncommon Sense,"⁴ in which he emphasized the

¹ This is stated in Hopkinson's letter of March 8, 1786, which is in the Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XIX, 3312-13.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 84-92.

³ It was published in a pamphlet along with essays on "Government" and "Money."

⁴ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 225-46; Edward Hopkinson, Esq., has a manuscript copy. Hopkinson's essay is dated 1785. Paine, however, asserts that his pamphlet was written and printed during the Christmas recess of the assembly, which lasted from December 22, 1785, to February 18, 1786. See *The Writings of Thomas Paine* (ed., M. D. Conway), II, 132.

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force of Paine's arguments by presenting those of his opponents in an absurd light. This reply was not published, because the assembly not long after Paine's attack repealed the act disfranchising the bank.¹

The "Remarks of Uncommon Sense" were followed by two technical articles, both of which appear in *The Miscellaneous Essays*² under the title, "Observations on a Bill Entitled 'An Act for Amending the Penal Laws of This State.'" Hopkinson asserted that he sympathized with the general intent of the bill, which was to make the penal laws less sanguinary, but that he objected to a provision of the act which vested the justices of the Supreme Court "with a discretionary power to punish within certain limits." The letters failed to accomplish their purpose, for the bill was passed on September 15, 1786.³

The American Philosophical Society has an undated letter from Hopkinson to Franklin which ends as follows:

I wish you would send me my *Law Suit*—which I suppose you have perused—you will probably think that I have exaggerated Matters—but it is not so—Every Circumstance, except the Case & Argument, hath almost literally occur'd. I have been much urged to publish this Piece—I don't know whether I shall or not—I would ask your Advice, but am almost sure you would not give it—if you would, I should certainly be govern'd by it—If you say nothing—I shall possibly publish it—I have had sufficient Provocation to justify it.⁴

This note evidently refers to the last of Hopkinson's attacks on McKean, "A Specimen of a Modern Law-Suit, or the Conduct of a Court of Justice Displayed; Intended as

¹ Hopkinson's note in *The Miscellaneous Essays*.

² II, 93-105 and 106-11. The tracts were first published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on April 6 and August 30, 1786. They are signed "Jus" and "X."

³ See *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania* (ed., T. J. Mitchell and Henry Flanders), III, 280-90.

⁴ *Franklin Papers*, XL, 141.

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a Model for a New Book of Modern Reports; in the Style of the Year 1786.”¹

In the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq., are two manuscript copies, accompanied by a quaint symbolical picture of the Supreme Court, showing an owl, a peacock, and a fox on the bench, and by an ironical dedication to Thomas McKean. This dedication contains five rules that a chief justice should observe: He should show his brethren of the bench some consideration; he should treat the members of the bar, some of whom may be his superiors, with courtesy; he should not insult juries or try to dictate to them; toward spectators in court he should not act the part of a common scold; out of court he should lay aside the judicial air, and refrain from demanding particular homage.

“A Specimen of a Modern Law-Suit,” which is written partly in narrative and partly in dialogue, recounts in elaborate detail the history of a case in the court of Chief Justice McKean. Timothy Tenant had rented a tract of land from Lawrence Landlord, who had given him a lease containing the following clause:

And it is hereby further agreed by and between the said parties, that the said *Timothy Tenant* shall at all times, during the term of this present lease, preserve, keep, and set apart for the use, benefit, and behoof, of the said *Lawrence Landlord*, the *apple-skins or parings of all the apples used in the said Timothy Tenant's family; to the intent and purpose that the said Lawrence Landlord may therewith feed, fatten, and raise up his pig or pigs*: Provided always, that the said *Lawrence Landlord*, by himself or his servants, and at his own expence, cost and trouble, shall send for, fetch, carry, or cause to be carried away, the apple-skins or parings aforesaid, for the purposes aforesaid.

On the strength of this agreement, the landlord carried off the entire apple crop of the tenant, and, when sued for

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 247-81.

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damages, tried to justify his conduct by attempting to show that "there is no difference between apple skins or parings and the apples themselves." When the case came to trial in the Supreme Court, the attorneys for the prosecution and defense presented arguments supported by copious quotations from authorities and expressed in a jargon teeming with redundancies. The grand jury, after examining witnesses for both sides, returned a verdict of "*Ignoramus*," thereby bringing upon themselves the wrath of the Chief Justice. The jury, when the case came to them, handed in a special verdict which left the decision to the Chief Justice, who found in favor of the defendant. When the plaintiff appealed for another trial, the Chief Justice was of opinion that no rehearing should be granted, one Associate Justice was in favor of a new trial, and the other Associate Justice was undecided. Therefore, after a delay of six months, the court handed down a decision of "*Curia vult advisare*."

From this brief summary, it is evident that the tract is a satire on the redundancy of legal phraseology, the over-emphasis of technicalities in court procedure, and the indolence of judges. It also reviews most of Hopkinson's grievances against McKean. The Chief Justice's hostility to newspaper criticism is ridiculed; his views on the duties of a grand jury are repeated; his habit of bullying grand juries is illustrated; and even his proposal to keep the polls open after the closing time is mentioned.

In the summer of 1787 the attention of the whole country was fixed on the city of Philadelphia, where a Federal Convention, made up of the leading statesmen of America, labored with painstaking care over the Constitution of the United States. The deliberations of this body began on

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May 12 and continued until September 17;¹ two days later the result of their labors was published in the Philadelphia papers, where it, at once became the subject of fierce controversy. The Pennsylvania Republicans aligned themselves with the Federalists on the side of the Constitution; while those who in state politics had called themselves Constitutionalists now found this name highly inappropriate, since most of them were bitterly opposed to the new federal instrument.² The Anti-Federalists, under the leadership of Judge Bryan, at once began an active campaign to prevent the acceptance of the Constitution by the state; but their efforts were fruitless, for on December 12 the Pennsylvania State Convention ratified the immortal document by a vote of forty-six to twenty-three.³

The discussion in the public press was carried on with the violence that had become characteristic of Pennsylvania journalism. This quality is particularly noticeable in the letters of a writer signing himself "Philadelphensis,"⁴ who on December 19, 1787, published in the *Independent Gazetteer* some comments on the action of the State Constitutional Convention which sound more like the ravings of a madman than a discussion of the subject under consideration. After asserting that the demagogues of the

¹ The diary of Washington, who was one of the delegates from Virginia, contains this entry for Friday, June 22: "Dined in a family way at Mr. Morris's and drank Tea at Mr. Francis Hopkinson's."

² There were, of course, exceptions to this rule; Thomas McKean, for example, became a Federalist.

³ Of the debates in the State Convention, Hopkinson wrote to Jefferson on December 14: "Perhaps the true Principles of Government were never upon any Occasion more fully & ably developed. Mr Wilson exerted himself to the Astonishment of all Hearers. The Powers of Demosthenes & Cicero seem'd to be united in this able Orator." Letter in the Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XXXV, 6020.

⁴ The author of these letters was an Irishman named James Workman, who was an instructor at the university.

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convention, “despising every sense of order and decency,” have treated the petitions of their constituents with the same contempt that George III and his ministers did those of the American colonists, “Philadelphiensis” declares that since the freemen of America have found petitions to be useless, they must now resort to demands—“the *ultima ratio regum* must secure to the people their rights.”

The indignity offered to the people and their petitions by the haughty lordlings of the convention, proclaims the chains of despotism already firmly rivetted. Like a herald it cries aloud—Hush, ye slaves, how dare you interrupt your *mighty rulers*, who alone have a divine right to establish constitutions and governments, calculated to promote their own aggrandizement and honour. Ah! my friends, the days of a cruel Nero approach fast; the language of a monster, of a Caligula, could not be more imperious. I challenge the whole continent, the *well-born and their parasites*, to shew an instance of greater insolence than this, on the part of the British tyrant, and his infernal junto, to the people of America before our glorious revolution. My fellow-citizens, this is an awful crisis; your situation is alarming indeed; yourselves and your petitions are despised and trampled under the feet of self-important nabobs; whose diabolical plots, and secret machinations have been carried on since the revolution, with a view to destroy your liberties, and reduce you to a state of slavery and dependence: and, alas! I fear they have found you off your guard, and taken you by surprise. These aspiring men having seized the government, and secured all power, as they suppose to themselves, now openly brow-beat you with their insolence, and assume majesty; and even treat you like menial servants, your representatives as so many conquered slaves, that they intend to make pass under the yoke, as soon as leisure from their gluttony and rioting on the industry of the poor, shall permit them to attend such a pleasing piece of sport.¹

On December 29, 1787, Hopkinson entered the contest by publishing in the *Pennsylvania Packet* an allegory entitled “The New Roof,”² which served the double purpose

¹ In *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 312–19, Hopkinson quotes this letter in full.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 282–312. Edward Hopkinson, Esq., has a manuscript copy of the allegory.

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of defending the new Constitution and ridiculing extravagances of "Philadelphiensis." In this allegory he pictured the confederation of states as a mansion-house, the roof of which was observed to be in very bad condition, although it had been in use only twelve years. The owners, unable to determine what had caused the rapid decay of the roof, sought the advice of some skilful architects, who, after making a thorough examination, reported that they found:

1st That the whole fabric was too weak.

2nd That there were indeed *thirteen* rafters; but that these rafters were not connected by any braces or ties, so as to form a union of strength.

3^d That some of these rafters were thick and heavy, and others too slight; and as the whole had been put together whilst the timber was yet green, some had warped outwards, and of course sustained an undue proportion of weight, whilst others, warping inwards, had shrunk from bearing any weight at all.

4th That the shingling and lathing had not been secured with iron nails, but only wooden pegs,¹ which swelling and shrinking by successions of wet and dry weather, had left the shingles so loose, that many of them had been blown away by the wind; and that before long, the whole would, probably, in like manner be blown away.

5th That the cornice was so ill proportioned, and so badly put up, as to be neither an ornament nor of use: and,

6th That the roof was so flat as to admit the most idle servants in the family, their playmates and acquaintances, to trample upon and abuse it.²

Since it was evidently "altogether vain and fruitless to attempt any alterations or repairs in a roof so defective in all points," the architects recommended that a new roof "of a better construction" be erected over the mansion. Therefore, on a certain day the servants of the family as-

¹ Explained by Hopkinson to mean paper currency.

² Explained by Hopkinson to mean want of dignity in government.

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sembled in the great hall to consider the recommendation of the architects. Conspicuous in this assembly was James,¹ an architect “who had been one of the surveyors of the old roof,” and who had “a principal hand in forming the plan of the new one.” When he presented the architects’ plan, however, he was bitterly opposed by Margery, the midwife,² and three other servants named William, Jack, and Robert.³ The objections to the “new roof,” stripped of their allegorical integuments, were these: (1) the Constitution contained no bill of rights; (2) it did not provide for a standing army; (3) it placed no curb on the press; (4) it lowered the dignity of the judiciary; (5) it endangered the integrity of the states; (6) it erected a government independent of the people.

While James was carefully and patiently answering these objections, there appeared in the crowd a half-crazy person named “Philadelphiensis,” who was allowed to go at large because he was considered a harmless lunatic. This unfortunate person had been so badly frightened by Margery—who had made him believe that “the architects had provided a dark hole in the garret, where he was to be chained for life”—that he began to roar and bawl, “to the great annoyance of the bystanders”:

The new roof! the new roof!—Oh! the new roof! shall demagogues, despising every sense of order and decency, frame a new roof? If such bare-faced presumption, arrogance, and tyrannical proceedings will not rouse you, the whip and the goad—the whip and the goad—should do it. But you are careless and insecure sinners, whom neither admonitions, entreaties, or threatenings can reclaim. Sinners consigned to unutterable and endless woe. Where is that pusillanimous wretch who can submit to such contumely? Oh, for the *ultima ratio regum*! (He got these

¹ James Wilson.

² Judge George Bryan.

³ William Findley, John Smilie, and Robert Whitehill, prominent Anti-Federalists. See J. B. McMaster and F. D. Stone, *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution*.

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three Latin words from Margery) Oh! for the *ultima ratio regum!*—Ah! the days of Nero!—Ah! the days of Caligula!—Ah! the British tyrant and his infernal junto!—Glorious revolution!—Awful crisis!—Self-important nabobs—diabolical plots and secret machinations—Oh! the architects! the architects! They have seized the government, secured power, brow-beat with insolence, and assume majesty—Oh! the architects! They will treat you as conquered slaves—they will make you pass under the yoke, and leave their gluttony and riot to attend the pleasing sport.

“The New Roof” evidently attracted a great deal of attention; it was copied on January 4 by the *Independent Gazetteer*, on January 5 by the *Pennsylvania Herald*, and on January 9 by the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. Writing from Williamsburg, Virginia, on January 21, 1788, Robert Morris gave this account of the reception of the allegory in the South:

I received your obliging letter before my departure from Richmond and had much pleasure not only in reading the “New Roof” but also in communicating it to others, it is greatly admired, and I tell them if they could but enter into the *Dramatis Personae* as we do they would find it still more excellent. The character of Margery is well hit off, how does the old Lady like it? I am not surprised they should baste you in the *Freeman’s Journal*, it is what you must expect as long as they have anybody to wield a Pen. I observe they will not let me alone, altho’ no Author. . . .

Mr Wythe yesterday at dinner introduced the “New Roof” as a subject and after expressing his approbation, very modestly supposed it to be one of your productions. Mr G. Morris & myself joined in that opinion. Thus you see, that whether you intend it or not, there always appear some Characteristic Marks in your writings that disclose the Fountain from whence they Spring.¹

A much abler opponent of the Constitution than “Philadelphiensis” was a writer calling himself the “Centinel,”² who, beginning on October 5, 1787, contributed to

¹ Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

² Mr. Burton Alva Konkle has identified the “Centinel” as Samuel Bryan, son of Judge George Bryan.

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the *Independent Gazetteer* a series of twenty-four letters. To these letters, which he called "inflammatory and abusive," Hopkinson paid his respects in "An Intercepted Letter from the Author of the Centinel to His Friend in ——— County,"¹ which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on January 23, 1788. In this communication he makes the "Centinel" express great regret that his lieutenant has not been more successful in stirring up Anti-Federalist sentiment in the western counties,² since his own efforts in Philadelphia have failed. Though he has published many letters, "all written with freedom and spirit," no one even takes the trouble to answer him. "I have directly, and without reserve, called the members of the late general convention, with general W—n at their head, villains, traitors, fools, and conspirators, collectively and individually, and yet the mob does not rise." Meanwhile, state after state is ratifying the new Constitution. "Only imagine what a ridiculous figure I make here. I am every week publishing things, which, in any other country would bring the author to the gallows, as a seditious disturber of the public peace—and yet nothing comes of it." In conclusion, he remarks that since the proposed system of government seems likely to be established, the Anti-Federalists will show prudence by bowing to the will of the majority and vying with them in zealous exertions for the support of the Constitution.

Hopkinson's next fling at the Anti-Federalists was a skit entitled "Objections to the Proposed Plan of a Federal Government for the United States, on Genuine Principles,"³ which he published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 323–28.

² Whitehill, Findley, and Smilie were from Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Fayette counties respectively.

³ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 329–35.

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February 20. This bit of nonsense professes to be the minutes of the Wheelbarrow Society,¹ which Hopkinson calls "the most numerous and respectable body that hath as yet combined formally to avow and publish a disapprobation of this new constitution." The minutes begin with a statement of the principles of the Society, which may be summarized in the statement that "that form of government is best which contains the fewest restraints, and leaves in the hand of the governed the greatest portion of *natural liberty*." Then follows a series of resolutions condemning the Constitution, because it puts restraints upon individuals and states, gives offices to men of education and ability, prohibits the issue of paper money, and favors the industrious and wealthy at the expense of "gentlemen of adventure and address"; and characterizing the members of the convention as "demagogues, aristocrats, conspirators, traitors, tyrants, and enemies of the natural rights of mankind." The squib closes with an account of an election of officers in which "Centinel" was chosen president; L—M—, Esq., of Maryland,² vice-president; and "Philadelphiensis," secretary of the society.

On February 17, 1788, the people of Boston celebrated the ratification of the Constitution by Massachusetts by marching in a "grand procession." Two days later the *Independent Gazetteer* ridiculed this performance in an article containing these astonishing lines:

¹ A footnote explains that this "society" was made up of "convicts condemned to the Wheel-Barrow for various crimes." Because Judge Bryan and James Workman were Irish, Hopkinson gave all members of the Wheelbarrow Society Irish names.

² Luther Martin, a bitter Anti-Federalist. See Mr. Hampton L. Carson, *A History of the Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Promulgation of the Constitution of the United States*, I, 225-27.

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There they went up, up, up,
And there they went down, down, downy,
There they went backwards and forwards,
And poop for Boston towny.

Here they rung, rung, rung,
And here they bobb'd about, abouty,
There were doubles, and majors, and bobs
And heigh for 'delphia City.

The publication of such nonsense as this gave Hopkinson an unusual opportunity to poke fun at the Anti-Federalists. Accordingly, on March 26 he wrote a most amusing sketch entitled "Literary Intelligence Extraordinary,"¹ in which he explained the circumstances that had led to the composition of the "poem" published in the *Gazetteer*:

On the first of January, 1788, it was determined in a certain Seminary of Learning to institute a Professorship of *Poetry* & the *Belles Lettres*.

As this was intended to be only an honorary Appointment (the Gratuity being only a Barrel of strong Beer per Quarter to the Professor) it was left to the present Faculty to determine which of their Members should fill the new Chair. The Faculty, having conven'd for the Purpose, it was moved & agreed to that the Candidates should compare probationary Odes to be exhibited on the 18th of February, & that this new Professorship should be awarded to the Author of the most approved Performance.

On the Day of Decision it appeared that none of the Professors except Dr D—² had enter'd the Lists, & that he had only two of the Tutors for his Competitors. So that there were but three probationary Odes produced on this Occasion. These being read and considered, the Ballots were taken & Dr D—'s Performance was declared the most worthy by a very decided Majority, and on the Day following his admirable Ode was given to the impatient Public.

¹ This is one of the treasures that Mr. Edward Hopkinson found in the old chest in the attic. I have never seen the sketch in print.

² Probably Dr. George Duffield.

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This introduction is followed by the ode itself, an exceedingly long-winded explication of the poem by the learned doctor, and an "epistle of congratulation," in Latin, from an admiring pupil to the new professor of poetry and *belles-lettres*. The whole sketch is a charming specimen of boisterous humor. If published, it must have made the editor of the *Independent Gazetteer* unpopular with the more intelligent of the Anti-Federalists.

Hopkinson's Federalist writings drew replies from various sources. On January 2, 1788, "Hum Strum," a writer with a gift for inventing names, published in the *Freeman's Journal* a letter in which he called the Federalists the "mob-ocratical junto" and the "despocratics," and Hopkinson himself "Tweedle-dum-tweedle," "Franciani," and "Little Orpheus." On January 23, in the *Independent Gazetteer*, "Deborah Woodcock" and "An Old Woman" attacked the author of "The New Roof"; but since the first asserted that Hopkinson had insulted all midwives, and the second that he had insulted all women by calling Judge Bryan "Margery the Midwife," one suspects that these replies, like that of C. D. to the "Dialogues of the Dead," may have been written by Hopkinson himself. On March 12, W, a writer for the *Freeman's Journal*, in a letter attacking the Constitution, paid his personal respects to Hopkinson in a paragraph ending with these words: "A few anecdotes of the Fiddler shall forthwith be laid before the public, by one who neither fears him nor hates him, and never supposed Frank to be one of his *bettors*, as the little *cur* ill-naturedly remarked to a person a few days ago."

The most vigorous attack, however, came from the "Centinel," who on March 24 published in the *Independent Gazetteer*¹ this unflattering portrait of Hopkinson:

¹ It is amusing to note that the *Freeman's Journal* and *Independent Gazetteer* had become allies.

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The scurrilous attack of the *little* Fiddler upon Mr. Workman of the university, on a suspicion, perhaps unfounded, of his being the author of a series of essays under the signature of *Philadelphiensis*, is characteristic of the man; he has ever been the base parasite and tool of the wealthy and great, at the expense of truth, honor, friendship, treachery to benefactors, nay to nearest relatives; all have been sacrificed by him at the shrine of the great: he ought however, to have avoided a contest with so worthy and highly respected a character as Mr. Workman, who had an equal right with himself to offer his sentiments on the new Constitution.

After suggesting rather pertinently that Workman, who “prior to his coming to America was a professor in an eminent Academy in Dublin,” might discuss American politics with as much propriety as Thomas Paine, who wrote his *Common Sense* before he had been in this country two years, the “Centinel” returned to his characterization of Hopkinson:

Little Francis should have been cautious in giving provocation, for insignificance alone could have preserved him the smallest remnant of character; I hope he will take the hint, or such a scene will be laid open as will disgrace even his patrons; the suit of cloaths, and the quarter cask of wine, will not be forgot.¹

On April 6, 1788, Hopkinson sent Jefferson this account of his fight with the Anti-Federalists:

You will be surprised when I tell you that our public News Papers have announced General Washington to be a Fool influenced & led by that Knave Dr Franklin, who is a public Defaulter for Millions of Dollars, that Mr Morris has defrauded the Public out of as many Millions as you please & that they are to cover their Fraud by this new Government. What think you of this? Some of the Authors of these inflammatory Publications have been traced & found to be men of desperate Circumstances. I had the Luck to discover & bring forward into public View on sufficient Testimony the Writer of a Series of abominable Abuse under the Signature Philadelphiensis, he is an

¹ The “Centinel” letters are republished by J. B. McMaster and F. D. Stone in *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution*, pp. 565-698. See pp. 663-64 of that work for the reference to Hopkinson.

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Irishman who came from Dublin about 3 years ago & got admitted as a Tutor in Arithmetic in our University. I am now under the Lash for this Discovery, scarcely a Day passes without my appearance in the Newspapers in every scandalous Garb that scribbling Vengeance can furnish. I wrote also a piece stiled [*sic*] *The New Roof* which had a great Run. I should send you a Copy but for the Postage. You will probably see it in some of the Papers, as it was reprinted, I believe, in every State.¹

It had been agreed by the Federal Convention that the Constitution should be presented for ratification, first to the Continental Congress, and then to special conventions in the various states; and that when it had been ratified by nine states, it should "at once go into operation as between such ratifying states."² The opposition of the Anti-Federalists in Congress and in the state conventions was vigorous but ineffectual. Congress submitted the Constitution to the states on September 28, 1787; Delaware ratified it on December 12; Pennsylvania imitated her example five days later; New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Maryland followed in succession. On June 21 New Hampshire came into the union as the ninth member, thus making possible the immediate adoption of the Constitution; and on June 25 and July 26 Virginia and New York added their formidable strength to the new government.³

The ratification of the Constitution by a state was usually celebrated in the larger cities of that state by special ceremonies in honor of the event. Boston, as has already been shown, held a celebration soon after the vote of the Massachusetts Convention had been taken. Philadelphia, on the other hand, waited until ratification by ten

¹ Letter in the Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XXXVIII, 6575-76.

² John Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History*, pp. 302-303.

³ Hampton L. Carson, *op. cit.*, I, 116 ff.

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states had made the adoption of the Constitution certain. The day chosen for the event was July 4, 1788, the twelfth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence; the method of commemoration was a "Grand Federal Procession," under the direction of Francis Hopkinson, one of the signers of that famous document.

The procession, which Hopkinson called "a spectacle as singular in itself as the occasion was extraordinary," was made up of eighty-seven divisions, consisting of floats; allegorical figures and groups; bands and military organizations; state, national, and foreign officials; delegations from various societies; and representatives of the different trades and professions.¹ The nineteenth division, representing the Court of Admiralty, is thus described in Hopkinson's "Account of the Grand Federal Procession,"² which was published in the *Packet* and the *Gazette* on July 9:

The hon. *Francis Hopkinson, esq.* judge of the admiralty, wearing in his hat a gold anchor, pendant on a green ribband, preceded by the register's clerk, carrying a green bag filled with rolls of parchment, the word ADMIRALTY in large letters on the front of the bag.

James Read, esq. register of the admiralty court, wearing a silver pen in his hat.

Clement Biddle, esq. marshal of the admiralty, carrying a silver oar, decorated with green ribbands.

The float prepared by the printers, bookbinders, and stationers consisted of a complete printing-press, mounted on a platform drawn by four horses. Beside the press stood Mercury "in a white dress, ornamented with red ribbands, and having real wings affixed to his head and feet, and a garland of flowers round his temples." As the procession ad-

¹ The order of the procession was announced in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on July 4.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 349-401.

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vanced, the printers struck off and distributed copies of an "Ode," which Hopkinson had written for the occasion. This poem, which contains five stanzas, begins as follows:

Oh! for a muse of fire! To mount the skies,¹
And to a listening world proclaim;
Behold! Behold! an Empire rise!
An Aera new, time as he flies,
Hath entered in the book of fame.
On Allegheny's towering head
Echo shall stand; the tidings spread,
And o'er the lakes, and misty floods around,
An *Aera new* resound.²

Hopkinson informs us that

this ode, and also one in the German language, fitted to the purpose, and printed by *Mr. Steiner*, were thrown amongst the people as the procession moved along. Ten small packages, containing the above ode, and the toasts for the day, were made up and addressed to the ten states in union respectively, and these were tied to pigeons, which, at intervals, rose from Mercury's cap and flew off, amidst the acclamations of an admiring multitude.

The procession, in which about five thousand people took part, started at South and Third streets about half-past nine in the morning, and, after traversing the main streets of the city, arrived at Union Green about half-past twelve. Here "a very large circular range of tables, covered with awnings, and plentifully spread with a cold collation, had been prepared." When all the participants in the parade had arrived at the green, James Wilson mounted the "New Roof, or Grand Federal Edifice," the most imposing float in the procession, and delivered an address to an audience of seventeen thousand people.³ After the address, the company went to dinner,

¹ See the first line of Shakespeare's *Henry V.*

² For the complete "Ode" see *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 386-87.

³ Wilson's address was published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on July 10. It is reprinted in *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 402-18.

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where they were served "American porter, beer, and cyder," with which they drank toasts to the people of the United States, the Federal Convention, General Washington, the King of France, the United Netherlands, American industries, the heroes of the war, reason, and the family of mankind.

The toasts were announced by trumpets, and answered by the artillery—a round of ten to each toast—and these were again answered by cannon from the ship *Rising Sun*, at her moorings in the river.

The whole of this vast body was formed, and the entertainment of the day conducted, with a regularity and decorum far beyond all reasonable expectation. The foot-ways, the windows, and the roofs of the houses were crouded with spectators, exhibiting a spectacle truly magnificent and irresistibly animating. But what was most pleasing to the contemplative mind, *universal love* and *harmony* prevailed, and every countenance appeared to be the index of a heart glowing with urbanity and rational joy. This social idea was much enforced by a circumstance, which, probably, never before occurred in such extent, viz. The clergy of almost every denomination united in charity and brotherly love. May they and their flocks so walk through life.

Hopkinson published his account of the procession in the July number of the *American Museum*, and with it a poem entitled "The New Roof: a Song for Federal Mechanics,"¹ which begins:

Come muster, my lads, your mechanical tools,
Your saws and your axes, your hammers and rules;
Bring your mallets and planes, your level and line,
And plenty of pins of American pine:
*For our roof we will raise, and our song still shall be,
Our government firm, and our citizens free.*

In the description of the "roof" which follows, the allegory previously used to expose the defects of the confederation

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 320–22.

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is again employed to point out the merits of the new federal government. The poem concludes with this stanza:

Huzza! my brave boys, our work is complete;
The world shall admire Columbia's fair seat;
Its strength against tempest and time shall be proof,
And thousands shall come to dwell under our roof:
Whilst we drain the deep bowl, our toast still shall be
Our government firm, and our citizens free.

As a final jibe at the opponents of the Constitution, Hopkinson wrote an account of an imaginary "Grand Anti-federal Procession,"¹ held on the night of July 5. At the head of the parade he placed two Anti-Federalists, representing Rhode Island and New York, who had not yet joined the Union. After them came a band consisting of four hurdy-gurdies, two jew's-harps, and a banjo, playing the "Dead March" from *Saul*. The band was followed by various groups—eleven in all—made up of prominent Anti-Federalists wearing symbolic garments or decorations, such as a robe made of paper money, a fool's cap, a wreath of hemlock, and a band of crêpe. One sat in a cart drawn by two mules; another rode on a jackass; a third marched on foot, preceded by a boy leading a skunk. On the front of the "Centinel's" cart were two figures "emblematical of Anarchy & Confusion." Eleazor Oswald, of the *Independent Gazetteer*, carried a banner on which was emblazoned the "Demon of Defamation." As the procession advanced, two printers' devils distributed the "Ode" in which the *Independent Gazetteer* had ridiculed the Boston procession. At the rear of the parade marched the Wheelbarrow Club. The line of march ended at the hospital, where Mr. Workman delivered the speech that Hopkinson in "The New Roof" had attributed to him.

¹ This account is among the manuscripts that Mr. Edward Hopkinson found in the old chest.

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The second volume of *The Miscellaneous Essays* begins with a group of eight orations, prefixed by a note in which the author explains that the speeches were "written for, and at the request of young gentlemen of the University, and delivered by them at public commencements." The fourth of these orations, "On Public Speaking," is accompanied by a note stating that it was delivered on July 4, 1785; the last, "On the New Constitution," was evidently prepared for the commencement of 1788; the others are given no specific dates, though the introductory note implies that they were written after the College of Philadelphia became the University of the State of Pennsylvania, in November, 1779.

For more specific information it is necessary to turn to the press, where the first clue is found in an account of the commencement of 1783,¹ published in the *Pennsylvania Packet*.² On this occasion there were delivered:

A Forensic Disputation on Duelling. Messrs. Eph. Ramsey and Joseph Thomas maintained the lawfulness and utility of the practice: Messrs. George Bartram and Nath. Greer maintained the negative. The arguments were acute, ingenious, and well-arranged on each side. The Provost's decision was direct and very full against this Gothic Phrensy.

Hopkinson's third oration, entitled "On Duelling,"³ is preceded by this note: "At a public commencement in the university, an argument was held for and against the practice of DUELLING; the following speech was written for the young gentleman who took the defensive side." From the agreement of these two notes, and from the fact that there is no record that this subject was debated at any other commencement between the years 1780 and

¹ Held on July 4.

² Published on July 12; reprinted by the *Pennsylvania Journal* on July 17, and by the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on July 23.

³ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 24-33.

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1788, it must have been Hopkinson's speech against which the Provost decided so directly and fully at the commencement of 1783.

Another number on the program of this same commencement is described by the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*¹ as "an essay containing humourous playful strictures on the customary grammatical mode of teaching Latin; and upon certain no less instructive enigmas of logical and metaphysical erudition; by Mr. J. Chew Thomas, of Maryland." This notice evidently refers to Hopkinson's first oration, "On a Learned Education,"² which it accurately describes.

Between the speeches, "On a Learned Education" and "On Duelling," stands an oration, "On Peace, Liberty, and Independence,"³ which was probably written for the same commencement at which the others were delivered, since it refers to "the late most glorious peace"⁴ and "seven years sufferings." This speech, which argues rather plausibly that peace, liberty, and independence are not the blessings that they are commonly supposed to be, was never given; Hopkinson explains why in a footnote: "The arguments used in this speech are manifestly *ironical*; but the professors considered it as burlesquing the subject, and would not permit it to be delivered." The wise professors knew how many literal-minded people were in the audience, and therefore refused to stand sponsor for any strictures, however playful, on these great catchwords of the age.

The fourth oration, "On Public Speaking,"⁵ was pro-

¹ Issue of July 17, 1783.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 1-12.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-23.

⁴ A preliminary treaty of peace was signed on November 30, 1782; the definitive treaty on September 3, 1783.

⁵ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 34-40.

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duced under circumstances which the author describes as follows: "The young lads of the college invited their friends to hear some public speaking on the 4th of July 1785; this speech was delivered as introductory to the entertainment of the day." The natural conclusion of one who reads these words is that on this occasion the first alumnus of the institution was invited to make a few preliminary remarks, but the opening sentences of the speech itself reveal the fact that it was delivered by a student. "We have invited you to this place, and you have condescended to accept our invitation. It is rather too late now to enquire what our abilities can furnish for your entertainment; or, what your expectation ought to be." The gist of this address is given by the author in the following paragraph:

To speak in public with propriety and effect, requires many talents, natural and acquired. The object of all public speaking is *persuasion*: to make other people believe or act according to the speaker's mind. For this purpose, it is necessary that the orator should have a *pleasing address, a lively imagination, a thorough knowledge of his subject, and a good ear*, with respect to the language in which he is to deliver his sentiments.

In his next two orations, "On the Learned Languages"¹ and "In Reply to the Former,"² Hopkinson returned to a favorite subject and wrote what purported to be a debate on the value of the classics.

The first speaker, who soon shows that he is no friend of the dead languages, indicates his points of attack in the following paragraph:

The benefits to be expected from the study of the dead languages, must, I think, flow from some or all of the following sources. It must either open a door of knowledge, to which there is no other means of

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-48.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 49-57.

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access, or will polish the manners, and enrich the mind with ideas not otherwise to be acquired; or will serve as a key to all other languages, and become a vehicle of universal communication.

The first of these benefits he dismisses by asserting that there is no Latin, Greek, or Hebrew writer of any reputation who has not been ably translated into the modern languages. Second, "as to polishing the manners, a minute and technical knowledge of the learned languages hath an effect so notoriously to the contrary, that to call a man *a mere scholar*, is as much as to say, he has no manners at all." Third, he denies that any of the ancient languages is a vehicle of universal communication. Though Latin has been inculcated with so much assiduity by innumerable private tutors, and public schools, for so many hundred years, French, is at this day, a more universal language. "As to Greek, it is nowhere in fashion but in the schools; and none but the Jews make use of the Hebrew." Turning to a discussion of the methods commonly employed in teaching the ancient languages, the speaker asserts that few even of the teachers of an ancient language "have any taste for its beauties or knowledge of its powers."

Accustomed, as they are, to treat it by detail, and hackneyed in a critical consideration of its component parts, they, almost unavoidably, lose all sense of its general effect, and become strangers to that spirit of expression, in which its principal elegance consists. . . .

What would *Horace* do, if he could be present in a modern school, and hear one of his elegant odes frittered into all the small ware of the syntax? What would he do? He would break the pupil's head, and put the tutor to death.

This is so manifestly a serious expression of opinion that we are curious to learn what the author is to make the next speaker say in "A Reply to the Foregoing Speech." Hopkinson's solution of the problem, however, is simple and characteristic, for he makes the answer a ludicrous

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piece of irony, which is a more effective assault on the classics than his serious argument. Against translations he produces the familiar argument, but gives it a malicious twist:

But there are numberless beauties to be discovered by the scholar in the original, and a force and propriety arising from what is called the *idiom* of a language which no translation can convey: not only this, but the real meaning of the author, even in the original, is not always precisely ascertained by the learned themselves—how then shall it be found in a translation?

The real value of the learned languages, he continues, lies in two particulars not mentioned by the previous speaker: "FIRST, They afford the moderns an inexhaustible source of ingenious altercation and profound conjecture." In the comparison of different versions of the same work; in the preparation of notes critical and explanatory, and of notes upon those notes; and in the emendation of texts to make the original support the comment and confound the rival critic, "what a field is opened for profound erudition!" So fruitful have been the investigations of scholars that "one half of a long Greek or Hebrew word has been sufficient to occasion a schism, and give the world a new religious sect." "SECONDLY, By deriving the technical terms of every art and science from these languages, a mysterious obscurity is obtained which throws a veil over the face of truth, and screens the rays of knowledge from vulgar eyes." The patient who has had an "emollient cataplasm" prescribed for his "anthrax" feels for his physician a profound respect, which would change to contempt if the doctor were merely to say: "You have got a boil, and must apply a poultice of bread and milk." The very sounds of unfamiliar words "have a delightful effect upon the human mind." The old lady in church weeps at the sound of "those charming

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words, *Mesopotamia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Phrygia*." The lawyer impresses his clients with his "*fiere facias*, *scire facias*, and *certiorares*."

These orations were delivered at the 1786 commencement, at which Hopkinson's son Joseph received the degree of B.A. In the commencement program published in the *Packet* on July 10, the day on which the exercises were held, the following addresses are mentioned:

Oration against the study of the learned
languages, by Mr. Hopkinson
An ironical answer to the above, by Mr. [Henry]
Helmuth

The next of the series, a description "In Verse"¹ of a college commencement, came to grief at the hands of the faculty censors. "The following lines," says Hopkinson in a preliminary note, "were written for a young gentleman who was to take his degree at a public commencement; but the professors would not permit him to deliver them." The action of the professors is quite comprehensible since the verses treat the subject in a very flippant manner. The speaker begins with a gibe at the Latin salutatorian:

For instance—first, a Latin declamation—
Are you not wiser made by that oration?
—"Oh yes!—*doctrina universitatis*;
High sounding words, all charming, and all *gratis*.
With sense and meaning what have we to do?
The words were fine, and well deliver'd too.

The "moral addresses" in English are dismissed more briefly, but hardly more respectfully.

A set of moral speeches follow'd next,
With bows and scrapes for prologues to each text.
English, 'tis true—the things were well enough,
But how can ladies like such serious stuff?

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 58-61.

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Next a student of philosophy seeks

To prove that all the wonders of creation
Are only visions of imagination.

Of the propounder of this doctrine Hopkinson says:

To such high learning none can make pretense,
But those who scorn the bounds of common sense.

The account of the valedictory shows that in this branch of oratory the style has not greatly changed since Hopkinson's day:

This done, a speech concludes; a doleful ditty!
Call'd *valedictory*, to move your pity.
You'll see the orator, with studied grace,
Screw up to seeming grief his rueful face.
—"Adieu! ye dear companions of my youth,
With whom I trod the flow'ry paths of truth,
One parting tear!"—and here a tear should come;
Oh! sad! I've left my handkerchief at home.

All this is enough to make the censor look askance, but the summary of the Provost's charge to the graduating class is still more impertinent:

You'll see professors sit with due decorum;
The lads all standing in a row before 'em;
Our provost then, will speak to each in Latin;
You'll be quite charmed, 'twill come so very pat in,
"*Auctoritate qua fuit constituta*—
You've been good boys; of that there's no dispute-a
In cujus rei; here it is my lad-o,
Hoc little scroll of parchment *tibi trado*."

The eighth oration, "On the Establishment of the New Constitution for the United States of America,"¹ is a serious attempt to convince the audience that the Constitution is the work of "tried patriots and able statesmen," and that the new government is the "genuine choice of the

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-68.

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people themselves." It refers to the Grand Federal Procession as "an exhibition which for novelty, splendor, and decorum justly merited universal admiration and applause," and quotes from Hopkinson's "Ode," which was distributed during the parade. This oration, the last of Hopkinson's Federalist writings, was never delivered. Evidently the faculty decided that since the question of the adoption of the Constitution was already settled, it was time to bring the discussion to an end.

On May 12, 1784, Hopkinson wrote to Jefferson: "I have been ridiculing what I take to be *false Learning*: you will see my Attempt in Hall & Sellers's last Week's Paper. I look to be solemnly excommunicated by the learned Faculty of our University."¹ Hopkinson here refers to his "Modern Learning Exemplified by a Specimen of a Collegiate Examination,"² in which he very ingeniously makes a professor with nothing to talk about but a salt-box give long examinations in metaphysics, logic, mathematics, anatomy, chemistry, and surgery and "the practice of physic." The fact that it is hard to imagine even a remote connection between a salt-box and speculative philosophy makes the examination in metaphysics particularly amusing. After the student has distinguished between a salt-box and a box of salt, and has classified salt-boxes as "possible, probable, and positive," the teacher continues: "But tell me, what other divisions of salt-boxes do you recollect?"

STU. They are further divided into *substantive* and *pendant*: a *substantive* salt-box is that which stands by itself on the table or dresser; and a *pendant* is that which hangs upon a nail against the wall.

PROF. What is the idea of a salt-box?

¹ Letter in the Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, X, 1655-56.

² *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 340-58. The sketch was published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on May 5.

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STU. It is that image which the mind conceives of a salt-box, when no salt-box is present.

PROF. What is the abstract idea of a salt-box?

STU. It is the idea of a salt-box, abstracted from the idea of a box, or of salt, or of a salt-box, or of a box of salt.

PROF. Very right:—and by these means you acquire a most perfect knowledge of a salt-box: but tell me, is the idea of a salt-box a salt idea?

STU. Not unless the ideal box hath ideal salt in it.

PROF. True:—and therefore an abstract idea cannot be either salt or fresh; round or square; long or short: for a true abstract idea must be entirely free of all adjuncts. And this shews the difference between a salt idea, and an idea of salt.—Is an aptitude to hold salt an *essential* or an *accidental* property of a salt-box?

STU. It is essential; but if there should be a crack in the bottom of the box, the aptitude to spill salt would be termed an *accidental* property of that salt-box.

PROF. Very well! Very well indeed!—What is the salt called with respect to the box?

STU. It is called its contents.

PROF. And why so?

STU. Because the cook is content *quoad hoc* to find plenty of salt in the box.

PROF. You are very right—I see you have not misspent your time: but let us now proceed to LOGIC.

Although Hopkinson satirized general methods of education in “An Improved Plan of Education” and “Modern Learning Exemplified,” he was more particularly interested in the teaching of the classics. His hostility to current methods of instruction appears in the unpublished “Epigram” already quoted, in four of his commencement orations, and particularly in a letter which he wrote to Franklin on May 24, 1784:

I have long thought that a great Reform is wanting in the Education of Youth—too much of the ancient Superstitions of the Schools remains—A great deal of precious Time is spent in forcing upon young Minds logical and metaphysical Subtleties—which can never afterwards be applied to any profitable Use in Life—whilst the practical Branches

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of Knowledge are either slightly glanced over, or totally neglected—Even the learned Languages are, in my Opinion, taught by a wrong Method—The Grammar should be the last Book put into the Learner's Hands—No Language is built upon its Grammar, but the Grammar is deduced from the Language—Elegance of Style in speaking or writing can never be acquired by Rules—conversing with men of polish'd Conversation & reading Books of approved Composition will invariably lead the Ear & the Eye to an accurate Judgment of Propriety of Diction, & the Scholar will with great Facility acquire a Taste for Elegance, which no System of Rudiments can ever inculcate—More of our Knowledge is acquired by Habit than we are aware of—we attribute too much to the Understanding—As to the Translation of Latin Words into English a Vocabulary or Dictionary is the possible Resource; but the due Arrangement of these Words so as to make them elegantly expressive, this is more easily attained by the Ear than any other Method—After the Scholar has made himself well acquainted with the Use of Latin Words, that is, can tell the English of any Latin Word that occurs, I would wish that the Teacher, not a common School-Master, but a Gentleman of refined Taste should continually read to him out of the most approved Authors, & cause the Pupil to make little Essays of his own—My Objection to Grammar is that its Rules are not founded on Nature—in a living Language they are ever fluctuating—General Custom makes Propriety—& even in Languages called *dead* & therefore *fixed*, the Rules of Grammar are necessarily encumbered with so many Exceptions, that in many Instances it is immaterial whether we take the Exception to the Rule or the Rule itself for the Standard. But the learning of a Language by means of Grammar is not only insufficient to inculcate its Force & Elegance; but is a Bar to the Acquirement—we seldom see common School-masters, those Haberdashers of Moods & Tenses, possess'd of the least Feeling or Taste for the Authors they teach, much less are they able to write with Urbanity in the Language they profess—What would Virgil think could he hear his beautiful Poem frittered into its grammatical component Parts in one of our schools:—How would Horace swear to hear one of his Odes *parsed* (as it is called) by Mood & Tense—All the Spirit of Elegance must evaporate under such an Operation—But I have inadvertently fallen upon a subject that would require long Disputation & Argument to set in a proper Light—Let us leave it.¹

¹ American Philosophical Society, *Franklin Papers*, XXXI, 185.

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Hopkinson's dislike for newspaper quarrels has already appeared several times in this biography. In 1780 he wrote "A Proposal for Establishing a High Court of Honour," to ridicule a newspaper quarrel between Dr. John Morgan and Dr. William Shippen. In 1781 he burlesqued newspaper abuse in "A Suit in the High Court of Honour." In 1782 he published "The Rise of the *Freeman's Journal*, an Abusive, Libelous Paper," and in 1782 or 1783 he wrote "A Full and True Account of a Terrible Uproar," to satirize the excesses that accompanied the struggle between the Constitutionalists and Republicans. With these should be mentioned several later sketches written for the purpose of ending newspaper controversy between individuals or factions.

In 1785 Dr. John Ewing, who had succeeded Dr. Smith when the college was made the University of the State of Pennsylvania, became engaged in a fierce dispute with Dr. Benjamin Rush, one of the founders of Dickinson College, a rival institution that had been established at Carlisle. This controversy, "in which the *broad bottom* of the university was too frequently mentioned to pass unnoticed," Hopkinson ridiculed in a slight skit, "New Sources of Amusement,"¹ which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on March 1, 1785. The chief of these sources of amusement is the quarrel between the learned doctors, which Hopkinson in imagination dramatizes. The action begins with hard words, in which the narrow foundation of the college and the broad foundation of the university are ludicrously contrasted, and it ends with hard blows, applied to the objects compared.²

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 138-45. The signature is "A. B."

² Other sources of amusement mentioned are queer people seen and odd scraps of conversation overheard on the street, and a quarrel between two rival musicians that was then going on.

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Hopkinson's next satire on newspaper controversy, "A Plan for the Improvement of the Art of Paper War,"¹ appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on August 2, 1786. The circumstances that led to its composition are thus explained in a preliminary note:

A warm dispute had taken place between *Mr. Moore*, a merchant, and *Mr. Lewis*, a lawyer. The parties attacked each other with great acrimony in the public papers; and the contest drew in friends on both sides, who soon became principals in the quarrel. Private challenges began to pass; and what are called the rules of honour were publicly discussed. One gentleman went so far as to publish a general challenge in the newspaper, undertaking to defend Mr. Lewis's side of the question against all persons whatsoever. It seemed very probable that this quarrel would have had a fatal issue amongst some of the parties, when the following piece of ridicule made its appearance, which turned the laugh of the town upon the combatants, entirely crushed the whole affair, and laughed the rules of honour out of countenance. The parties forgave each other sooner than they forgave the author.

Hopkinson's suggestion was that persons carrying on a dispute in the papers should indicate the intensity of their emotion by the kind of type they use, and thus make clear to the readers how far the quarrel has advanced. At the beginning Long Primer is bold enough, but when the contestants have worked themselves up to a rage sufficient to make them call each other "rascals," "villains," and "cowards," they should employ the largest and heaviest type in the font. To us, who are familiar with modern headlines, this suggestion seems less original than it really was. We should remember, however, that in Hopkinson's day the use of French Canon and five-line Pica was confined to the advertising columns.

On September 17, 1788, while the echoes of the contro-

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 179-93. The title is changed to "A Typographical Method of Conducting a Quarrel." The signature is "Projector."

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versy over the adoption of the Constitution were still in the air, Hopkinson published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* an essay entitled "Some Thoughts on Diseases of the Mind; with a Scheme for Purging the Moral Faculties of the People of Pennsylvania."¹ Following the method employed in many of his writings, he begins with a very solemn and pompous introduction, in which he discusses the relation of mind and body. Since most troubles originate in the mind of the victim, "many of the cares and evils of life might be removed or alleviated by a judicious metaphysical treatment." After these and other general observations, he turns to the chief trouble of the people of Pennsylvania, which he calls *cacoethes maledictionis*, a learned name for newspaper abuse. The only treatment for this malady is free expression. Bottle up the rage of the people who air their grievances in the newspapers, and the city would soon have either murderous public brawls or the poisoned cup and bloody dagger. For this reason there should be established two papers, the *Freeman's Convenience* and the *Chronicle of Scandal*, in which people afflicted with this disease could give vent to their feelings without annoying the general public. This idea is, of course, very similar to that expressed in "A Proposal for Establishing a High Court of Honour." To illustrate the soundness of his theory that mental troubles may be cured if the victim is allowed to express his feelings, Hopkinson relates the following incident, which has one or two details that are evidently autobiographical:

I knew a young man, about 32 years of age, who, from losses in trade and crosses in love, began to grow melancholy, retired and discontented. He came to me for advice. I asked him if he had ever tried

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 336-48. The essay is signed "Projector," a favorite nom de plume of this period.

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to write verses. He told me that he had upon two or three occasions, and found that he could tack rhymes together pretty well; but had no thoughts of cultivating the talent. But I advised by all means to try what he could do in that way. He followed my prescription; and employed himself for a year or two in writing sonnets to Mira, Odes to Liberty, and Elegies to birds, and dead lap-dogs, with a variety of other subjects, according to the course of the humours that infected his mind. He is now of a calm, contemplative habit, but far from melancholy; on the contrary, he is delighted with his own performances, and enjoys the comfort of *self-applause*, which, after all, is the most substantial comfort of life.

Somewhat similar in idea to the foregoing essay is a political allegory entitled "A Remarkable Historical Fact."¹ This story, which, according to the author, is mentioned in the records of the empire of China, to be found in the great library of the royal city of Peking," begins as follows:

In the reign of HOANG-TI, who was co-temporary with Noah, a *cacoethes*, or malignant distemper, raged amongst the officers and servants of the emperor's court. The symptoms by which it manifested itself, were a most licentious delirium, and a virulent apathy, without any apparent cause of phrenzy, or visible diminution of health and strength: the infected violently attacked each other, and even strangers, if they crossed their way, by discharging, periodically, a black corrosive saliva, which always stained and sometimes infected those on whom it fell, to the great annoyance of the whole court.

The king in this crisis consulted his physician, his surgeon, and his metaphysician, who, after examining some patients who were confined in the "grand infirmary," diagnosed the disease as a violent form of biliousness, and prescribed for the patients a thorough application of the bastinado. Under this treatment all the patients recovered ex-

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 316-26. Since this allegory comes immediately after "A Full and True Account," it may have been written in 1783 during the stormy period that followed the election of John Dickinson to the presidency of Pennsylvania.

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cept the scribe, Quil-king-gum, "in whom the distemper was so inveterate, that he died under the operation, before any favourable symptoms appeared."

The first part of "A Remarkable Historical Fact" is manifestly a satire on the political quarrels of the day. The rest of the allegory consists of the reports submitted to the king by his counselors after their autopsy of the body of the unfortunate scribe. The physician and surgeon stated briefly what had caused the death of their patient. The metaphysician asserted that it was his duty to explain "how this derangement of the corporeal system became the efficient cause of that obliquity of conduct and acrimony of temper so conspicuous in the life and manners of the deceased," and promised to do so in a forthcoming work of his, in which he would show that all souls have an "innate sense of right and wrong," and that the soul "is always free to will," and hence cannot become a slave to the body except by its own volition.¹

During the winter of 1788-89 a personal quarrel arose between Dr. William Shippen, professor of anatomy in the Medical College, and Dr. John Foulke, a lecturer in the same department. The dispute was carried on with the violence customary in such altercations, until Hopkinson turned the whole affair into a farce by publishing his last satire on newspaper abuse, a poem entitled *An Oration Which Might Have Been Delivered to the Students in Anatomy in the Late Rupture between the Two Schools*

¹ Some of Hopkinson's philosophical speculations have a singularly modern sound. For example, the metaphysician says that in his work he will show "that in this visible world all things are but so many different exhibitions of one original essence." In some rough notes on the possible constituents of the air, which I found in the collection of Mr. Edward Hopkinson, Hopkinson suggests that air may consist of "invisible Globes of Matter repelling each other by Force of the Fire they have imbibed from the Sun."

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*in This City.*¹ This "Oration" is an appeal to the two factions, who should be brothers because they have shared the labor of digging up cadavers in the negro burying-ground and the danger and discomfort of carrying their booty away, not to turn their dissecting knives against each other. The poem has humor of a grim sort, but the "resurrection" scenes are pictured with such a wealth of detail that they cause the gorge of the reader to rise.

In addition to his political tracts, his orations and essays on educational methods, and his satires on newspaper scurrility, Hopkinson wrote during his latter days a few miscellaneous sketches of the sort that he had contributed to the *Pennsylvania Magazine* during its short existence in 1775-76. Some of these sketches are mere trifles; others rise to the dignity of literary essays.

In a letter written to Dr. Franklin on March 23, 1783, Hopkinson says:

I amused myself one snowy Day with devising a new Game of Cards. I enclose you a Copy of the Rules, printed on the wrapping Paper of each Pack, & also a couple of the Cards as a Sample. They are not so well executed as I could wish, but may serve as a first Essay. My Object was to make my Children dextrous and critical in spelling, & to give them a Knowledge of the Use of Letters in the Formation of Words. These Cards are getting in great Vogue.²

¹ Published as a pamphlet in February, 1789; reprinted in *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 193-204. A copy of this pamphlet owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania contains this entry, dated March 6, 1789, from the lost diary of a Dr. Chovet: "Stayed at home all day. Dr. Duffield sent me the poem entitled an Oration on Anatomy that should have been delivered by Dr. Shippen and Dr. Foulke instead of disputing and falling out. A very humorous and well wrote piece, supposed by Judge Hopkins." In the manuscript copy of the poem owned by Mr. Edward Hopkinson the identity of the disputants is revealed in these lines:

"Ye followers of F— your wrath forbear—
Ye Sons of S— your invectives spare."

² *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, IX, 505.

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This game is described in *The Miscellaneous Essays*¹ under the title, "A New Game with Cards for the Improvement of Orthography." The deck used consists of one hundred and four cards, containing four complete alphabets. There are two sets of capitals—one black and the other red—and two corresponding sets of small letters. In the game each player is dealt ten cards, with which he tries to take as many tricks as possible. The values of the cards are as follows. Any letter will take any following letter of the same color and case; that is, red *A* will take red *B*, and black *y* will take black *z*. "The red letters are always superior to the black"; therefore red *z* will take black *A*. A capital will take any small letter of the same color; for example, black *Z* will take black *a*. Red *W*, "distinguished by particular ornaments in honour of the name of Washington," will take any letter in the pack. After the tricks have all been taken, each player who has won a trick or more tries to see how many words he can make from the letters in his possession. Here capitals and small letters, red and black, have equal rank. For each word made the player may draw "a stake or stakes from the pool." This naïve and harmless game not only illustrates the oft-mentioned ingenuity of the author, but reveals an interest in the entertainment and education of his children, which he showed on more than one occasion.

The long letter that Hopkinson sent to Jefferson on January 4, 1784, contains this sentence: "I enclose for your Amusement a Christmas Gambol in the Literary Way."² In reply Jefferson wrote on February 18:

I carried your letter to the printer; he declared it exceeded the typographical art. He observed further that it would be very ill-judged

¹ I, 239-44.

² See p. 334.

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in those capable of writing things of merit in substance, to introduce merit of form; that it would transfer the whole credit from the writer to the printer. . . .¹

Thanks to Jefferson's methodical habits, the "gambol," as well as Hopkinson's letter, has been preserved.² It is a sketch entitled "Some Account of a Newly Discovered and Most Commodious Method of Writing."³ By this method, Hopkinson explains, "an author of little or no genius will be enabled to express himself with mechanical propriety." If he desires to rise to a sublime height, he may easily do so by writing one word over another until he has mounted as high as he cares to go; when he wishes to return to the levels of style, he may do so as gradually or as abruptly as he chooses. By this method flowing lines and rounded periods are easily achieved. The author who would be thought elegant can realize his ambition by using some of the more ornate styles of type, while the plain, square-dealing fellow may indicate his squareness graphically. Indeed, a writer of this school may easily dispense with words altogether and express himself in a series of properly arranged lines.⁴

On June 18, 1785, Hopkinson published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* an amusing bit of writing entitled "A Letter from a Gentleman in America, to His Friend in Europe, on White-Washing."⁵ In this essay the author begins with some solemn observations on national customs in general, and then proceeds to describe the American national cus-

¹ Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

² Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, X, 1620-22.

³ The skit did not forever baffle the printer's art. It is published in *The Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 245-51.

⁴ One may assume that Hopkinson knew Sterne, as well as Fielding. See *Tristram Shandy*, Book VI, chap. xl.

⁵ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 146-60.

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tom of "whitewashing," or house cleaning. This ceremony, which is one of the most precious privileges of the American woman, may be performed at any season of the year, though the latter part of May is the favorite time.

The attentive husband may judge, by certain prognostics, when the storm is nigh at hand. If the lady grows uncommonly fretful, finds fault with the servants, is discontented with the children, and complains much of the nastiness of every thing about her: these are symptoms which ought not to be neglected, yet they sometimes go off without any further effect. But if, when the husband rises in the morning, he should observe in the yard, a wheelbarrow, with a quantity of lime in it, or should see certain buckets filled with a solution of lime in water, there is no time for hesitation. He immediately locks up the apartment or closet where his papers, and private property are kept, and putting the key in his pocket, betakes himself to flight. A husband, however beloved, becomes a perfect nuisance during this season of female rage. His authority is superseded, his commission suspended, and the very scullion who cleans the brasses in the kitchen becomes of more importance than him. He has nothing for it but to abdicate, for a time, and run from an evil which he can neither prevent nor mollify.

The husband gone, the ceremony begins. The walls are stripped of their furniture—paintings, prints, and looking-glasses lie in huddled heaps about the floors; the curtains are torn from their testers, the beds crammed into windows, chairs and tables, bedsteads and cradles crowd the yard; and the garden fence bends beneath the weight of carpets, blankets, cloth cloaks, old coats, under petticoats, and ragged breeches. *Here* may be seen the lumber of the kitchen, forming a dark and confused mass for the fore-ground of the picture; gridirons and frying-pans, rusty shovels and broken tongs, joint stools, and the fractured remains of rush bottomed chairs. *There* a closet has disgorged its bowels—rivetted plates and dishes, halves of china bowls, cracked tumblers, broken wine-glasses, phials of forgotten physic, papers of unknown powders, seeds, and dried herbs, tops of tea-pots, and stoppers of departed decanters—from the rag hole in the garret, to the rat hole in the cellar, no place escapes unrummaged. It would seem as if the day of general doom was come, and the utensils of the house were dragged forth to judgment.

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In September, 1786, ten years after the discontinuance of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, T. Seddon, W. Spottswood, and others established in Philadelphia the *Columbian Magazine, or Monthly Miscellany*, which they advertised as "containing a view of history, literature, manners, and characters" of the times. The second volume of *The Miscellaneous Essays* contains a sketch entitled "The Cobbler No. I," which is accompanied by this explanatory note:

The hall of the philosophical society was begun without a sufficient fund for completing it, and, indeed, without any reasonable prospect of procuring one. The cellars, however, were finished, and the building remained a long time without any further advancement. One of the invalid soldiers, whose quarters were adjoining this building, had fitted up a cobbler's stall in these cellars, he having formerly been a shoemaker, and he is supposed to be the author of this paper. A course of numbers was intended for the use of the *Columbian Magazine*. But a well known and singular character being too strongly marked in this first number, the editor of the magazine declined publishing it, and so the whole design was laid aside.¹

The essay consists mainly of the biography of this "singular character," told in the first person, as though by the "Cobbler" himself. He was born in an obscure village in England. His father, though ignorant himself, had a great respect for men of genius and learning, and so was very anxious that his son should have an education. Accordingly, the boy was sent to a charity school, where he was "whipped through the spelling-book as far as words of five syllables." At the age of ten the pupil, having had enough education of the ferule type, ran away from school. He then lived the life of a vagrant until, at the end of two years, he was captured and returned to his father, who next apprenticed him to another son of his, who was a

¹ Pp. 169-78. The essay evidently was not written for the first number of the magazine, as the author in the body of the essay states that it was written in 1787.

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shoemaker. After trying for four years to learn to make a shoe, the boy once more ran away, and this time he managed to evade capture. During the next seven years he wandered about the country, pursuing many occupations, contracting many prejudices, and storing up many opinions. At the end of the seventh year he entered the service of "a man very famous in the learned world; a celebrated author in theology and natural philosophy." With this man he remained several years, absorbing his ideas and adopting his principles. Finally, however, the two separated, after a difference of opinion about "dephlogisticated air." Next the cobbler, now become a philosopher, traveled extensively in Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, and Switzerland. Everywhere he went he searched in vain for true "liberality"—a word that had troubled him ever since his charity-school days, when he had been whipped because he could not spell it. Returning at last to England and seeing no more liberality there than he had found on the Continent, he next migrated to America. Here he joined the army and took an active part in the war until he was wounded at the battle of Yorktown. After that, he spent his time cobbling shoes, combating the doctrine of the Trinity, and devising schemes for public utility.

The identity of the "Cobbler" is rather hard to determine. In some respects he resembles Joseph Priestley, but Priestley did not come to Philadelphia until after Hopkinson's death. There are points of similarity between his history and that of Thomas Paine, but the similarity does not amount to identity. Indeed, the sketch contains details that resemble incidents in the life of Franklin himself.

In January, 1787, a second literary magazine, the *American Museum, or Repository of Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces, Prose and Poetical*, appeared in Phila-

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delphia. This publication was most hospitable to Hopkinson's work from the beginning, for the first number contained four of his earlier writings, including his essay "On White-Washing," and a new sketch entitled "Nitidia's Answer,"¹ which professed to be a letter from a lady whose indignation had been aroused by what Hopkinson had said about house cleaning. Men are naturally nasty beasts. It is only the attention and assiduity of women that prevent them from degenerating into swine, and yet for these very services they make women the subject of ridicule.

Now, there's my husband, a good enough sort of a man in the main, but I will give you a small sample of him. He comes into the parlour, the other day, where, to be sure, I was cutting up a piece of linen. "Lord," says he, "what a clutter here is—I cannot bear to see the parlour look like a taylor's shop—besides, I am going to make some important philosophical experiments, and must have sufficient room." You must know my husband is one of your would-be philosophers. Well—I bundled up my linen as quick as I could, and began to darn a pair of ruffles, which took up no room, and could give no offense. I was determined, however, to watch my lord and master's important business. In about half an hour the tables were covered with all manner of trumpery—bottles of water, phials of drugs, pasteboard, paper and cards, glue, paste and gum-arabic, files, knives, scissors and needles, rosin, wax, silk, thread, rags, jags, tags, books, pamphlets and manuscripts.—Lord bless me! I am almost out of breath, and yet I have not enumerated half the articles. Well! to work he went, and although I did not understand the object of his manoeuvres, yet I could sufficiently discover that he did not succeed in any one operation: I was glad of that—yes, I confess, I was glad of that, and good reason too. After he had fatigued himself with mischief, like a monkey in a china shop, and had called the servants to clear every thing away, I took a view of the scene before me. I shall not even attempt a minute description—suffice it to say, that he had overset his inkstand, and stained my best mahogany table with ink; he had spilt a quantity of vitriol upon my carpet, and burned a hole in it; my marble hearth was all over spotted with

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 161–68.

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melted rosin; he had broken three china cups, two wine glasses, a tumbler, and one of my best decanters; and after all, as I said before, I perceived that he had not succeeded in any one operation.

Having completed his experiment, the philosopher went out with a friend, leaving his wife to clean up the mess he had made. She had just completed this task when her husband returned and informed her that he had invited six gentlemen to dine with him at three o'clock. She had only an hour in which to prepare for these unexpected guests, but she managed somehow to serve the dinner, after which the gentlemen retired to the parlor and covered the carpet, which had just been cleaned, with tobacco juice.¹ As a result of this dinner party, Nitidia, when she wrote her letter, was about to clean house once more. "The brushes are ready, the buckets are paraded—my husband is gone off—so much the better—When one is about a thorough cleaning, the first dirty thing to be removed is one's husband."

On April 14, 1787, Hopkinson wrote to Jefferson:

The Proprietors of the [Columbian] Magazine have engaged me to undertake the Management of the Work—to which they are by no means competent themselves. The Month of March is my first Exhibition. In the Magazine this Month I shall take the Liberty of giving an Extract from your valuable Notes on Virginia, respecting the comparative Size of European and American Animals. I hope this will not displease you. I hope further that you will give me some Assistance now and then. I have a very curious Drawing & Account of the Remains of an ancient fortified Town on the Muskingum, taken by an Officer on the Spot. It seems from many Circumstances to be the Vestiges of Art before this Country was known to Europe. This is an interesting Circumstance in the History of the World.²

How long Hopkinson held this position is not known, but the fact that other selections from the *Notes on Virginia*

¹ An interesting side-light on the manners of the times.

² Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XXIX, 4950-52.

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appeared in the *Columbian* in January, 1788, suggests that he was still editor of the magazine at that time.

Although Hopkinson's official duties and political activities prevented him from offering much new material to the magazines, he kept them both well supplied with extracts from his earlier works, as the chronological list of his contributions in Table I shows.

TABLE I

Date	Contribution	Published In
Jan.,	1787. "On White-Washing"	<i>American Museum</i>
Jan.,	1787. "Nitidia's Answer"	<i>American Museum</i>
Jan.,	1787. "The Battle of the Kegs"	<i>American Museum</i>
	(prose)	
Jan.,	1787. "The Battle of the Kegs"	<i>American Museum</i>
	(verse)	
Jan.,	1787. "Date Obolum Bellesario"	<i>American Museum</i>
Feb.,	1787. "Specimen of a Collegiate Examination"	<i>American Museum</i>
March,	1787. "Dialogues of the Dead"	<i>American Museum</i>
March,	1787. "To Myrtilla; the Nest"	<i>Columbian Magazine</i>
March,	1787. "The Birds, the Beasts, and the Bat"	<i>Columbian Magazine</i>
April,	1787. "Nitidia's Answer"	<i>Columbian Magazine</i>
April,	1787. "The Temple of Minerva"	<i>Columbian Magazine</i>
May,	1787. "Description of a Candle Case"	<i>Columbian Magazine</i>
May,	1787. "An Improved Method of Quilling a Harpsichord"	<i>Columbian Magazine</i>
May,	1787. "An Evening at Sea"	<i>Columbian Magazine</i>
May,	1787. "Verses Wrote Near the Conclusion of a Very Tedious Voyage"	<i>Columbian Magazine</i>
May,	1787. "A Proposal for Establishing a High Court of Honour"	<i>American Museum</i>
May,	1787. "A Typographical Method of Conducting a Quarrel"	<i>American Museum</i>
Nov.,	1787. "An Answer to General Burgoyne's Proclamation"	<i>American Museum</i>
Jan.,	1788. "A Riddle" (second)	<i>American Museum</i>

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Date	Contribution	Published In
Feb.,	1788. "Consolation for the Old Bachelor".....	<i>American Museum</i>
Feb.,	1788. "Speech of a Post in the Assembly-Room".....	<i>American Museum</i>
Feb.,	1788. "Answer to a Riddle".....	<i>American Museum</i>
June,	1788. "Objections to the New Constitution".....	<i>American Museum</i>
June,	1788. "On the Learned Languages"	<i>American Museum</i>
June,	1788. "A Reply to the Foregoing Speech".....	<i>American Museum</i>
June,	1788. "The Old Bachelor, N ^o . VI"	<i>American Museum</i>
July,	1788. "An Account of the Grand Federal Procession".....	<i>American Museum</i>
July,	1788. "A Song for Federal Mechanics".....	<i>American Museum</i>
July,	1788. The "Ode" from "An Account of the Grand Federal Procession".....	<i>Columbian Magazine</i>
Aug.,	1788. "The New Roof".....	<i>American Museum</i>
Oct.,	1788. "Some Thoughts on Diseases of the Mind".....	<i>American Museum</i>
Nov.,	1788. "Song (See down Maria's blushing cheek)".....	<i>American Museum</i>
Feb.,	1789. "Song (My generous heart disdains)".....	<i>American Museum</i>
Aug.,	1789. "Song (Give me thy heart)" ¹ ..	<i>Columbian Magazine</i>
March,	1790. A description of a floating lamp invented by Hopkinson.....	<i>Columbian Magazine</i>
June,	1791. "The Nest".....	<i>American Museum</i>
July-Dec.,	1791. "A Pretty Story".....	<i>American Museum</i>
March,	1792. "To Miss Lawrence".....	<i>Columbian Magazine</i>
Aug.,	1792. "On Public Speaking".....	<i>Columbian Magazine</i>
Aug.,	1792. "Description of a Church"....	<i>Columbian Magazine</i>
Aug.,	1792. "Disappointed Love".....	<i>Columbian Magazine</i>
Aug.,	1792. "To Delia, Wrote on a Leaf of Her Pocket-Book".....	<i>Columbian Magazine</i>
Sept.,	1792. "To the Rev. Dr. White on the Conduct of a Church Organ"	<i>Columbian Magazine</i>

¹ Words and music.

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"A Letter to the Rev. Dr. White on the Conduct of a Church Organ,"¹ which was probably written in 1786, when the two were helping Dr. Smith prepare the *Proposed Book of Common Prayer*, is the only prose selection in this list that has not already been discussed. After some preliminary observations on "the application of instrumental music to purposes of piety," the author gives this advice to the organist himself:

The organist should always keep in mind, that neither the time or place is suitable for exhibiting all his powers of execution; and that the congregation have not assembled to be entertained with his performance. The excellence of an organist consists in his making the instrument subservient and conducive to the purposes of devotion. None but a master can do this. An ordinary performer may play surprising tricks, and shew great dexterity in running through difficult passages, which he hath subdued by dint of previous labour and practice. But *he* must have judgment and taste who can call forth the powers of the instrument, and apply them with propriety and effect to the seriousness of the occasion.

These general remarks are followed by more specific suggestions with regard to the various parts of the service, and these by an eminently sensible conclusion.

In general, the organ should ever preserve its dignity, and upon no account issue light and pointed movements which may draw the attention of the congregation and induce them to carry home, not the serious sentiments which the service should impress, but some very petty air with which the organist hath been so good as to entertain them. It is as offensive to hear lils and jiggs from a church organ, as it would be to see a venerable matron frisking through the public street with all the fantastic airs of a *columbine*.

On October 23, 1788, Hopkinson wrote to Jefferson:

I have amused myself with composing Six easy & simple Songs for the Harpsichord—Words & Music all my own. The Music is now engraving. When finished, I will do myself the Pleasure of sending a Copy

¹ *The Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 119-26.

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to Miss Jefferson. The best of them is that they are so easy that any Person who can play at all may perform them without much Trouble, & I have endeavour'd to make the Melodies pleasing to the untutored Ear.¹

The volume to which Hopkinson referred was published by Thomas Dobson on November 29. On November 26 the forthcoming work was announced by the *Pennsylvania Packet* in an advertisement containing this comment: "These songs are composed in an easy, familiar style, intended for young Practitioners on the *Harpsichord* or *Forte-Piano*, and is the first Work of this kind attempted in the United States. (*Price* 7/6.)" It is interesting to note that Hopkinson mentions six songs, that the book itself bears the title *Seven Songs*,² and that the collection actually contains eight songs.³ The last song has a note explaining that "this eighth song was added after the Title Page was engraved."

The songs were advertised in both the *Packet* and the *Federal Gazette*. The former, during the first two weeks of December, published the words of the entire collection as given in Table II.

TABLE II³

No.	Song	Date
I.	"Come, fair Rosina, come away"	Dec. 1, 1788
II.	"My love is gone to sea"	Dec. 2, 1788
III.	"Beneath a weeping willow's shade"	Dec. 4, 1788
IV.	"Enraptur'd I gaze when my Delia is by"	Dec. 5, 1788
V.	"See down Maria's blushing cheek"	Dec. 8, 1788
VI.	"O'er the hills far away, at the birth of the morn"	Dec. 11, 1788
VII.	"My gen'rous heart disdains"	Dec. 12, 1788
VIII.	"The traveller benighted and lost"	Dec. 13, 1788

¹ Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XLIII, 7401-02.

² Copies of this rare book are owned by Edward Hopkinson, Esq., and by the Boston Public Library.

³ These songs have no titles; the first lines are quoted here. The words of *Seven Songs* are reprinted in *The Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. III, Part II, pp.

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The latter, on December 12, published a letter from a subscriber who referred to Hopkinson's work as evidence that the fine arts, particularly poetry and music, were making considerable advances in America. The songs themselves are much superior to Hopkinson's earlier lyrics. They lack the seriousness of thought and the beauty of style that Arnold designates as the distinguishing qualities of great poetry, and they also, in some instances, lack originality of idea and treatment; but for the work of a man who for years had written little but political satire, they are surprisingly good. One of the best is No. VII, which Moses Coit Tyler calls "a song not unworthy of the touch of Herrick or of Lovelace":

I

My gen'rous heart disdains
The slave of love to be,
I scorn his servile chains,
And boast my liberty.
This whining
And pining
And wasting with care,
Are not to my taste, be she ever so fair.

II

Shall a girl's capricious frown
Sink my noble spirits down?
Shall a face of white and red
Make me droop my silly head?
Shall I set me down and sigh
For an eye-brow or an eye?
For a braided lock of hair,
Curse my fortune and despair?
My gen'rous heart disdains, &c.

185-92. The words and music are now accessible in the two volumes edited by Mr. Harold Vincent Milligan. *The First American Composer* contains Nos. I, III, VI, VII, and VIII; *Colonial Love Lyrics* contains Nos. II, IV, and V. See p. 462.

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III

Still uncertain is to-morrow,
Not quite certain is to-day—
Shall I waste my time in sorrow?
Shall I languish life away?
All because a cruel maid,
Hath not Love with Love repaid.
My gen'rous heart disdains, &c.

Almost as good, and perhaps a little less reminiscent, is
No. II, the song of a sailor's wife:

I

My love is gone to sea,
Whilst I his absence mourn,
No joy shall smile on me
Until my love return.
He ask'd me for his bride,
And many vows he swore;
I blush'd—and soon comply'd,
My heart was his before.

II

One little month was past,
And who so blest as we?
The summons came at last,
And Jemmy must to sea.
I saw his ship so gay
Swift fly the wave-worn shore;
I wip'd my tears away—
And saw his ship no more.

III

When clouds shut in the sky
And storms around me howl;
When livid lightnings fly,
And threat'ning thunders roll;
All hopes of rest are lost,
No slumbers visit me;
My anxious thoughts are tost
With Jemmy on the sea.

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Still another which has a touch of real beauty is No. VI, a little hunting song:

O'er the hills far away, at the birth of the morn
I hear the full tone of the sweet sounding horn;
The sportsmen with shoutings all hail the new day
And swift run the hounds o'er the hills far away.
Across the deep valley their course they pursue
And rush thro' the thickets yet silver'd with dew;
Nor hedges nor ditches their speed can delay—
Still sounds the sweet horn o'er [the] hills far away.

Franklin sent a copy of the collection to the Abbé André Morellet, with this comment:

I thought some of these pieces might suit your taste by reason of their simplicity and feeling. The poetry of the fifth pleases me particularly, and I wish that you or M. de Cabanis would translate it, so that the translation might be sung to the same air.¹

The song that Franklin praised runs as follows:

I

See down Maria's blushing cheek
The tears of soft compassion flow;
Those tears a yielding heart bespeak—
A heart that feels for others' woe.
May not those drops, that frequent fall,
To my fond hope propitious prove,
The heart that melts at Pity's call
Will own the softer voice of love.

II

Earth ne'er produced a gem so rare
Nor wealthy ocean's ample space
So rich a pearl—as that bright tear
That lingers on Maria's face.
So hangs upon the morning rose
The chrystal drop of heav'n refin'd,
A while with trembling lustre glows—
Is gone—and leaves no stain behind.

¹ See article by Lionel de la Laurencie, *Musical Quarterly*, IX, 257.

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Hopkinson himself was particularly pleased with the last of the group:

I

The traveller benighted and lost,
O'er the mountains pursues his lone way;
The stream is all candy'd with frost
And the icicle hangs on the spray,
He wanders in hope some kind shelter to find
"Whilst thro' the sharp hawthorn keen blows the cold wind."

II

The tempest howls dreary around
And rends the tall oak in its flight;
Fast falls the cold snow to the ground,
And dark is the gloom of the night.
Lone wanders the trav'ler a shelter to find,
"Whilst thro' the sharp hawthorn still blows the cold wind."

III

No comfort the wild woods afford,
No shelter the trav'ler can see—
Far off are his bed and his board
And his home, where he wishes to be.
His hearth's cheerful blaze still engages his mind
"Whilst thro' the sharp hawthorn keen blows the cold wind."

Almost as interesting as the songs themselves is the dedication that precedes them:

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQUIRE.

SIR,

I Embrace, with heartfelt Satisfaction, every Opportunity that offers of recognizing the personal Friendship that hath so long subsisted between us. The present Occasion allows me to do this in a Manner most flattering to my Vanity; and I have accordingly taken Advantage of it, by presenting this Work to your Patronage, and honouring it with your Name.

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It cannot be thought an unwarrantable Anticipation to look up to you as seated in the most dignified Situation that a grateful People can offer. The universally avowed Wish of America, and the Nearness of the Period in which that Wish will be accomplished, sufficiently justify such an Anticipation; from which rises a confident Hope, that the same Wisdom and Virtue which has so successfully conducted the Arms of the United States in Times of Invasion, War, and Tumult, will prove also the successful Patron of Arts and Sciences in Times of national Peace and Prosperity; and that the Glory of America will rise conspicuous under a Government designated by the *Will*, and an Administration founded in the *Hearts* of THE PEOPLE.

With respect to the little Work, which I have now the Honour to present to your Notice, I can only say that it is such as a Lover, not a Master, of the Arts can furnish. I am neither a profess'd Poet, nor a profess'd Musician; and yet venture to appear in those Characters united; for which, I confess, the Censure of Temerity may justly be brought against me.

If these Songs should not be so fortunate as to please the *young* Performers, for whom they are intended, they will at least not occasion much Trouble in learning to perform them; and this will, I hope, be some Alleviation of their Disappointment.

However small the Reputation may be that I shall derive from this Work, I cannot, I believe, be refused the Credit of being the first Native of the United States who has produced a Musical Composition. If this Attempt should not be too severely treated, others may be encouraged to venture on a Path, yet untrodden in America, and the Arts in Succession will take root and flourish amongst us.

I hope for your favourable Acceptance of this Mark of my Affection and Respect, and have the Honour to be

Your Excellency's most obedient, and
Most Humble Servant,

F. HOPKINSON

PHILADELPHIA

Nov. 20, 1788.

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Washington's answer shows that he had a sense of humor—a quality no less valuable than others for which he is more celebrated:

MT. VERNON Feb^y 5th 1789

DEAR SIR,

We are told of the amazing powers of Musick in ancient times; but the stories of its effects are so surprising that we are not obliged to believe them, unless they had been founded upon better authority than Poetic assertion—for the Poets of old (whatever they may do in these days) were strangely addicted to the marvellous;—and if I before *doubted* the truth of their relations with respect to the power of Musick, I am now fully convinced of their falsity—because I would not, for the honor of my Country, allow that we are left by the Ancients at an *immeasurable* distance in everything;—and if they could soothe the ferocity of wild beasts—could draw the trees and the stones after them—and could even charm the powers of Hell by their Musick, I am sure that your productions would have had at least virtue enough in them (without the aid of voice or instrument) to soften the Ice of the Delaware & Potomack—and in that case you should have had an earlier acknowledgment of your favor of the 1st of December which came to hand but last Saturday.

I readily admit the force of your distinction between “a thing *done*” and “a thing *to be done*”—and as I do not believe that you would do “a very bad thing indeed”¹ I must even make a virtue of necessity and defend your performance, if necessary, to the last effort of my musical abilities.—

But, my dear Sir, if you had any doubts about the reception which your work would meet with—or had the smallest reason to think that you should need any assistance to defend it—you have not acted with your usual good Judgment in the choice of a Coadjutor;—for should the tide of prejudice not flow in favor of it (and so various are the tastes, opinions & whims of men, that even the sanction of Divinity does not insure universal concurrence) what, alas! can I do to support it?—I can neither sing one of the songs, nor raise a single note on any instrument to convince the unbelieving.—But I have, however, one argument

¹ The quotations are evidently from a letter that Hopkinson had sent with the book of songs.

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which will prevail with persons of true taste (at least in America)—
I can tell them that *it is the production of M^r Hopkinson*.

With the compliments of M^{rs} Washington added to mine, for you &
yours

I am—Dear Sir

Your Most Obed^t and

Very H^{ble} Servant

G^o WASHINGTON^t

To HON^{ble}

FRAN^s HOPKINSON, Esq^r

On December 1, 1788, Hopkinson wrote to Jefferson:

I wrote to you three or four Weeks ago, & I now take the Opportunity by M^r Gov^r Morris of sending you a small Package of News Papers, Pamphlets &c amongst which is a Work of my own just published. I beg Miss Jefferson's Acceptance of a Copy, and wish it may be to her Taste. It is a Book of Songs, which I composed, occasionally, for my Daughters, who play & sing them very well. The last Song, if play'd very slow, and sung with Expression, is forcibly pathetic—at least in my Fancy. Both Words & Music were the Work of an Hour in the Height of a Storm. But the Imagination of an Author who composes from his Heart, rather than his Head, is always more heated than he can expect his Readers to be.²

Jefferson's reply, written on March 13, 1789, eloquently supports Hopkinson's opinion as to the pathos of the last song:

Since my last, which was of December the 21st, yours of December the 9th and 21st³ are received. Accept my thanks for the papers and pamphlets which accompanied them, and mine and my daughter's for the book of songs. I will not tell you how much they have pleased us, nor how well the last of them merits praise for its pathos, but relate a fact only, which is that while my elder daughter was playing it on the harpsichord, I happened to look toward the fire, & saw the younger one all in tears. I asked her if she was sick? She said "no; but the tune was so mournful."⁴

² Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

³ Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, XLV, 7728.

⁴ Jefferson misread the date; he took "Dec^r 1st" for "Dec 21st."

⁴ *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed., A. A. Lipscomb), VII, 299.

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With this pleasant scene still before our eyes, we bring the account of Francis Hopkinson's literary work to a close. Only a postscript remains. The reception of the eight songs was favorable enough to encourage the author to write a ninth of the same general type, which was published, both words and music, in the *Columbian Magazine* of August, 1789, under the title, "A New Song."¹ This little song is quoted here, not because it is a remarkable poem, but because it is probably his last one; not for its lyric beauty, but for its whimsical, humorous optimism—a strong element of his character, and one that endured to the end:

Give me thy heart as I give mine,
Our hands in mutual Bonds we'll join;
Propitious shall our Union prove,
What's life without the Joys of Love?

Should care knock rudely at our Gate
Admittance to obtain,
Cupid shall at the Casement wait
And bid him call again.²

¹ The song is signed "F. H., Esq."; it is not found in *The Miscellaneous Essays* or in any of the manuscript collections.

² This song is republished in *Colonial Love Lyrics*. See p. 462.

CHAPTER X

CHARACTER AND ATTAINMENTS

During his latter years Hopkinson suffered from occasional attacks of gout. On July 5, 1780, he apologized to Joseph Reed, president of Pennsylvania, for writing instead of seeing him in person about a matter of business, and explained that he could not put on his shoe, "owing to a small Touch of the Gout."¹ On January 4, 1784, he wrote Jefferson a letter, to which he added this postscript: "I have been much tormented with the Gout since I wrote my Letter on Sunday last—it is now Wednesday & am just able to sit by the Fire & write the above on my Knee."² The letter, written in 1786 or 1787, in which Hopkinson asked Franklin's advice about the publication of "A Specimen of a Modern Law-Suit," begins: "My Gout is much better, but I am not yet able to put my Foot in my Shoe."³ On September 18, 1787, he again wrote to Franklin: "I have been confined ever since Monday last by a sore Fit of the Gout which prevents my waiting upon you about a Business of special Concern to me."⁴ Except for these occasional attacks of gout Hopkinson's health seems to have been good.

On October 10, 1789, Elizabeth Graeme Ferguson wrote Hopkinson what appears to be a letter of condolence on "the singular and distressful Situation of M^{rs} Hopkinson's Complaints," but the poetess expresses herself with such

¹ *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st series), VIII, 390.

² Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, X, 1620-22.

³ American Philosophical Society, *Franklin Papers*, XL, 141.

⁴ University of Pennsylvania, *ibid.*, VIII, 70.

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propriety, delicacy, and obscurity that she never specifically names the "complaints." She reminds him of the solace to be gained from music and poetry, and she implies that Mrs. Hopkinson is deprived of these comforts; but her mind runs to platitudes rather than to facts, and her epistle serves chiefly to excite the reader's curiosity. Fortunately, however, the deficiencies of this letter are supplied by family tradition: Ann Borden Hopkinson, who lived until 1827,¹ was blind and deaf during her latter years.²

The first intimation we have of any serious decline in the health of Hopkinson himself occurs in the opening sentence of a letter written to Jefferson on May 10, 1790: "I am anxious to write a few Lines to you; but my late Mallady [*sic*] has had so strange an Effect that for some Months I could not write at all, & yet express myself imperfectly & with great Difficulty. What I now say must be only in few Words."³ The meaning of this note is also explained by family tradition. Hopkinson more than a year before his death had a stroke of paralysis, which seriously disabled him. He still continued to administer his office, but he had to be helped to and from the courtroom. He evidently recovered somewhat from the condition described in his letter to Jefferson, for he continued to take an active part in the affairs of the American Philosophical Society until the very end. During the year 1790 he served on two committees, and held the office of treasurer of the society. Between May, 1790, and May, 1791, he presented

¹ She was born on May 9, 1747, and died on August 3, 1827.

² Mrs. Ferguson's letter is in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq. Mrs. Elizabeth Borden Biddle, daughter of Judge Joseph Hopkinson and granddaughter of the signer, grew up while her grandmother was still alive. As she lived to a very advanced age, she became a link between Francis Hopkinson's generation and the present generation.

³ Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, LIV, 9301.

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six papers written by others, collaborated with Rittenhouse on one, and prepared two of his own.¹

It is evident that Hopkinson's last days were comparatively peaceful and happy. A tiny book, now owned by Mrs. Florence Scovel Shinn, preserves a few memoranda of his last year. Most of these refer to business engagements or the payment of bills, but three or four have a quaint personal touch.

Apr. 27, 1790. Put my Horse to Stephen Page's Livery Stable at £28 per Ann.

Tuesday, 25 [no month or year given]. Josey gone to Long Branch.

Sept. 15, 1790. Nancy went to school again at M^{rs} Pine's having been 2 Months absent.

[Undated.] A general Fault in Ministers is laying the Emphasis on the Word *and* in the Prayers and Lessons.

The year 1790 ended very happily for Hopkinson. On December 15 the University of the State of Pennsylvania recognized his services to his profession by conferring upon him the degree of LL.D.² Two days later the American Philosophical Society awarded him the Magellanic Prize Medal for the invention of a spring-block to assist a vessel in sailing.³

The attainment of these honors was Hopkinson's last achievement. The next important reference to him is found in Mary Hopkinson's *Commonplace Book*—the little volume in which with deep but unconscious pathos she recorded the departure of most of those she loved: "My Dear Son Francis Hopkinson departed this life May the 9th 1791. O my God grant that he and all that I have lost may

¹ See pp. 365-66.

² Edward Shippen and James Wilson received the same honor on this occasion. See the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for December 22.

³ See pp. 364-65.

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be happy in the arms of thy Redeeming Love." Equally pathetic is a mourning brooch which Hopkinson's wife, in accordance with the custom of the times, had made to commemorate her bereavement. On this brooch, which contains a lock of Hopkinson's hair, are engraved these words: "Francis Hopkinson Departed this Life 9th of May 1791. Forgive the wish that would have kept you here."¹

To the May number of the *Columbian Magazine* Dr. Benjamin Rush contributed an account of Hopkinson's life and works,² which gives a few of the circumstances accompanying his death:

He had been subject to frequent attacks of the gout in his head, but for some time before his death, he had enjoyed a considerable respite from them. On Sunday evening, May the 8th, he was somewhat indisposed, and passed a restless night after he went to bed. He rose on Monday morning at his usual hour, and breakfasted with his family. At seven o'clock he was seized with an apoplectic fit, which in two hours put a period to his existence, in the 53d year of his age.

According to a manuscript list of the burials in Christ Churchyard,³ Hopkinson was buried on May 11. In the *Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, however, we find this entry for May 12: "Special notices called the members, residing in the city, to the Hall at 5 o'clock P.M., whence they proceeded to the funeral of Dr. Francis Hopkinson, deceased—a late worthy Member."⁴

Hopkinson's will, made on August 13, 1790, gave the bulk of his real estate, more than a thousand acres of land,

¹ This brooch is now owned by Mrs. Florence Scovel Shinn, who also has a cross set with brilliants taken from Hopkinson's shoe-buckles.

² The account is unsigned, but an abridgment in manuscript is preserved among the *Rush Papers* at the Library Company of Philadelphia. This shorter account is to be found in John H. Hazelton, *The Declaration of Independence*, pp. 434-35.

³ Owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁴ The Christ Church record is evidently not strictly accurate. See p. 28,

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to his son, Francis. Of the rest of his property, less than half went to four of the children, Francis, Elizabeth, Mary, and Ann; the bulk of what remained, including the house on Sassafras Street in which the family lived, was given to Mrs. Hopkinson during her lifetime, and after her death was divided among the four children mentioned above.

The minor bequests of the will are as follows:

I give Fifty Pounds to my Sister Jane Hopkinson.

I give a Mourning Ring to each of my Sisters Elizabeth Duché, Ann Coale and Jane Hopkinson. I give to my Negro Slaves Dan and Violet their Freedom after the Death of my Wife who shall have their Services during her natural Life.

I give to my Son Joseph all my Books, Manuscripts and Philosophical Apparatus. And also the Sum of One hundred and fifty Pounds towards purchasing a Law Library.

Hopkinson's apparent discrimination against Joseph, his eldest son, is explained in this paragraph near the end of the will:

The Reason why I have made no provision in this my Will for my Son Joseph is not for want of a most affectionate Esteem for him, but because I know that his Grandfather Joseph Borden Esquire has by his last Will provided for him in a manner more ample than I have done for his Brother or Sisters.

Mrs. Hopkinson was appointed executrix and Joseph executor of the will, while Alexander Willcocks was made a trustee to see that the terms of the will were "fully complied with."

Hopkinson's grave was provided with an appropriate monument, but at some time in the intervening years this monument was stolen.¹ Even the situation of his grave is therefore now uncertain.

¹ In the older parts of Philadelphia many houses are built directly on the street, and are provided with no entrance but a single step in front of the door. It is said that in certain sections there are many doorsteps that were formerly tombstones.

CHARACTER AND ATTAINMENTS

In the preceding pages the author has attempted to construct from letters, newspapers, and other documents a chronological record of what Hopkinson did during his lifetime. The rest of this chapter will employ the same method in seeking to determine a little more specifically what manner of man he was in appearance, personality, and character, and to estimate the value and influence of his work.

The contemporaries of Hopkinson who commented on his personal appearance usually referred to his diminutive size. John Adams described him as "one of your pretty, little, curious, ingenious men," and asserted that his head was no bigger than a large apple. Nathaniel Lewis called him "that pretty, little, musical, poetical witling." The angry Anti-Federalists referred to him as "little Francis," "the little Fiddler," "little Orpheus," and "Franciani." A friendly allusion to Hopkinson's smallness of stature is found in a droll letter sent to him from Burlington, on September 9, 1765, by William Franklin, who was then governor of New Jersey. Hopkinson had not long before sent a watermelon to Franklin, who acknowledged the receipt of the present in these words:

M^{rs} F. being just informed that Miss Bard is going to Philadelphia has sat down to write to your Sister, & has deputed me to acknowledge the Receipt of your agreeable Favour with the very acceptable Present of Fruit. Miss D. & M^r P. happ^d to be with us when it was brought from the Wharf, and as the Watermelon was crack'd, owing to a Fall it had receiv'd on Board, and bound round with a Piece of Spun-Yarn, Nancy insisted that you were inside, & begg'd that we would not stick a Knife into it for Fear of cutting you in two. However, upon knocking several Times on the Outside, & calling to you, without hearing any Answer, I ventured with a large Carving Knife in my Hand, to pass the *Rine* [*sic*], beginning at the Place of Ending, & ending at the Place of Beginning; that is, I proceeded in the Form of a Circle, & a Circle 'tis allowed, has neither Beginning nor Ending.¹

¹ Letter owned by Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

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In November, 1778, Hopkinson wrote a number of letters to his wife, who was visiting her family in Bordentown. In one of these he complains of the dearth of news, and offers as a substitute "an Extract from an ancient Author." This "Extract," which appears to be a grotesque description of himself, reminds one of John Adams' comment: "I have not met anything in natural history more amusing and entertaining than his personal appearance."

In my Travels thro' America I arrived in Philadelphia in November 1778. Amongst the Rarities of that City I was carried to the House of one Francis Hopkinson to see a very extraordinary Animal. Philosophers were much in Doubt whether this Animal were of the rational Kind or not; in some Instances it exceeded the Monkey in Sagacity, in others it fell short. It was near three feet in height & went mostly on all fours, but great Pains was taken by its Keepers to teach it to walk upright & it could actually walk a few Yards on two Legs only.—as I myself saw. It could not be said to talk & yet uttered some articulate Words imitative of the human Speech. It was very voracious and would eat continually. It was particularly fond of roasted Potatoes, & accordingly Potatoes were continually roasted for its use. When any were put into the Fire it would clap its *fore-paws* together & uttering a strange noise would shew great signs of Joy; & when it thought they were sufficiently roasted, it would point one of its *Claws* to the Fire & seem to beg for them. In the Night it generally kept up a hideous howling; from which it was supposed to have been produced by wild Parents who roamed about the Woods for Prey in the Night. It was very noisy, very playful & seemed to be in a thriving Way, being very fat & hearty. Many were the Debates of the learned as to the Origin of this curious little Animal. Some asserted that it was found in a Parsley Bed: others said that it was taken out of a Hole in a Rock: others that it was discovered among some Bushes in a Marsh. . . .²

A portrait of Hopkinson as he appeared to a friend is found in the sketch written for the *Columbian Magazine* by Dr. Benjamin Rush:

² Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

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The person of Mr. Hopkinson was a little below the common size. His features were small, but extremely animated. His speech was quick, and all his motions seemed to partake of the unceasing activity and versatility of the powers of his mind.

The accuracy of this description is verified by R. E. Pine's portrait, which shows his features to have been regular; his expression keen, alert, and vivacious; and his general appearance good natured and agreeable.

As to general character, few have been so highly commended by the foremost men of their own time as Francis Hopkinson. On May 10, 1765, Franklin wrote to James Burrow: "He is a very ingenious young Man, and is daily growing in Esteem for his good Morals & obliging Disposition."¹ Congratulating Hopkinson on his appointment as treasurer of loans, Franklin said on June 4, 1779:

I think the Congress judg'd rightly in their choice, as Exactness in accounts and scrupulous fidelity in matters of Trust are Qualities for which your father was eminent, and which I was persuaded was inherited by his Son when I took the liberty of naming him one of the Executors of my Will, a Liberty which I hope you will excuse.²

On July 24, 1781, Robert Morris wrote of Hopkinson to the president of the Continental Congress: "I believe him to be a Gentleman of unblemished Honour & Integrity, a faithful & attentive servant of the Public, and steadily attached to the American Cause."³ On May 21, 1784, Jefferson recommended him to Monroe for the position of director of the United States Mint, in a letter containing these words: "He is a man of genius, gentility & great merit. . . . He is as capable of the office as any man I know & the appointment would give general pleasure, because he

¹ Letter in the collection of Mr. George O. G. Coale, of Boston.

² *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (ed., Albert Henry Smyth), VII, 350.

³ Library of Congress, *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 137, Vol. I, fol. 89.

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is generally esteemed.”¹ In appointing him judge of a United States Court, Washington said, on September 30, 1789:

In my nomination of Persons to fill office in the Judicial Department, I have been guided by the importance of the object—considering it of the first magnitude, and as the Pillar upon which our political fabric must rest, I have endeavored to bring into the office of its administration such Characters as will give stability and dignity to our national Government.²

John Adams described Hopkinson as being genteel, well bred, and very social. Dr. Rush held a similar opinion of his friend's social qualities, which he expressed in these words:

Mr. Hopkinson possessed uncommon talents for pleasing in company. His wit was not of that coarse kind which was calculated to “set the table in a roar.” It was mild and elegant, and infused cheerfulness, and a species of delicate joy, rather than mirth, into the hearts of all who heard it. His empire over the attention and passions of his company was not purchased at the expense of innocence. A person who has passed many delightful hours in his society, declares, with pleasure, that he never once heard him use a profane expression, nor utter a word that would have made a lady blush, or have clouded her countenance for a moment with a look of disapprobation. It is this species of wit alone that indicates a rich and powerful imagination, while that which is tainted with profanity, or indelicacy argues poverty of genius, inasmuch as they have both been considered, very properly, as the cheapest products of the mind.

The warmth of Hopkinson's affection for his friends, expressed with boyish frankness, has appeared many times in his correspondence. His letter to John Penn, written on October 17, 1771, closes with these words: “M^{rs} H— joins me in affectionate Regards to M^{rs} Penn—it is not in my Power to show how much I love you both—perhaps the

¹ *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed., Paul Leicester Ford), III, 496.

² Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

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Expression may be too familiar but it is genuine.”¹ To Franklin he wrote on October 22, 1778, “I can truly say I both love and honour you”; and after Jefferson had arrived in Paris in 1784, Hopkinson admonished him, in a letter written on November 18, “Don’t forget to tell Dr Franklin how much I love and esteem him.”² It may, of course, be alleged that these are the effusions of a place-seeker. If so, no such objection can be made to a still stronger expression of the same sort, found in a letter written to Jefferson on May 10, 1790. Not long before this his appointment to the federal bench had brought Hopkinson to the height of his political ambition. Moreover, a stroke of paralysis, which had disabled him so that for several months he had been unable to write, must have warned him that his career would soon be over. Nevertheless, this brief note, written with painful difficulty, concluded with these touching words:

I have many things to say to you on Philad^a Projects and other miscellaneous Subjects but cannot urge them now. Be assured that I sincerely love and esteem you, and will tell you so more at large when I shall have recovered the Use of my Pen. I have but few Words to spare. If I had but six left, three of them would be spent in saying I love you.³

Not all of Hopkinson’s friendship was reserved for the great and fortunate, or even, perhaps, for the strictly deserving. Elizabeth Graeme Ferguson, by her willingness to serve both the British and American causes, had helped to bring ruin to Duché and sorrow and shame to all the Hopkinson family. Nevertheless, when she was punished for her duplicity by having her estate confiscated, Hopkinson exerted himself to have the penalty mitigated. On Sep-

¹ New York Public Library, *Emmet Collection*.

² See pp. 276-77 and 341-42.

³ Library of Congress, *Jefferson Papers*, LIV, 9301.

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tember 12, 1778, he informed her by letter that he and Mr. White¹ had been to see Chief Justice McKean on her behalf. His letter ends with these considerate words:

I most sincerely wish your present Troubles may be qualified by that large Portion of Good-Sense, Resignation, & true Religion of which I have long known you to be possessed. Any Service I can render is Preferable due to one who has thro' the greatest Part of my Life been heaping Obligations upon me and confirming my Friendship & Esteem.²

In a petition to the Pennsylvania Assembly, dated February 20, 1781, she mentioned Hopkinson as one of those who had treated her with kindness.³ No doubt it was partly due to his influence that she was finally allowed to retain possession of her property during her lifetime.

Hopkinson was a thoughtful and considerate son. When he was in England, he took every opportunity to send his mother a letter, lest she become anxious about him. When in the winter of 1768 he made a trip to New York—a five-day journey on horseback—he promptly notified her of his safe arrival.⁴ On July 16, 1785, Elizabeth Duché wrote her mother a letter containing these significant words:

I derived great pleasure from my Brother's letter, he speaks with so much tenderness & affection of you, who are so near to my heart. He says he now feels a double tie upon him, to make you happy, as you have none but him with you.⁵

Hopkinson's kindness to the Duchés has already been mentioned. It is true that he wrote his brother-in-law one

¹ Probably the Rev. William White, later bishop of the Protestant Episcopal church.

² Letter in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R.I.

³ See *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXIX, 306.

⁴ This letter, dated February 3, 1768, is in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq. Hopkinson went to New York to meet a vessel. Since he had opened a shop not long before, he was probably expecting a shipment of goods.

⁵ Letter in the collection of Mrs. Francis Tazewell Redwood.

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indignant letter, but since Washington returned it to the writer, Duché probably never knew of its existence. When Mrs. Duché went abroad to join her husband, her brother was of the greatest service to her and her "little family," as he affectionately called them. In 1783 when Duché applied to Washington and Franklin for permission to return home, he wrote also to Hopkinson as to one whom he considered a friend.

By the death of his father, Hopkinson, while still a boy in his teens, became the head of the family. That he took his responsibility seriously is indicated by the letter that he wrote from London to advise his mother not to allow his brother Thomas to visit England until he was old enough to be fixed in his principles.

When his sister Ann¹ married Dr. Samuel Stringer Coale and went to live in the city of Baltimore, Hopkinson sent her this practical advice:

Your Situation at present is, as it were, a fair Sheet of Paper. Be cautious therefore of the first Blot—and if everything should not exactly answer your Expectation, or be quite as agreeable as you could wish, do not repine or be discontented—& above all things avoid showing any Resentment at slight or fancied Injuries. But I stop before I grow too particular. A Hint is sufficient for you—your own Discretion will supply the Rest.²

The sentimental author of *Caspipina's Letters* was so impressed by the devotion of Hopkinson and his wife that he described their home life in two of his letters, and quoted

¹ Ann Hopkinson, the youngest daughter of Thomas Hopkinson, was born on November 23, 1745. In 1775 she married Dr. Coale, who had been one of Dr. Morgan's students. They had eight children: Edward Johnson, Anna Maria, William, Samuel Stringer I, Samuel Stringer II, Eliza Sophia, Thomas, and Mary Abby Willing. Thomas and the two Samuels died in infancy; the others lived to maturity and left numerous descendants. Mrs. Coale died on April 26, 1817.

² Letter of June 13, 1775, in the collection of Mrs. Francis Tazewell Redwood.

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at length from an essay on marital felicity, which he represented to have been written by Mrs. Hopkinson.¹

Joseph Delaplaine, who rivals Caspina in sentimentality, extends Hopkinson's benevolence to the lower animals. He tells of a little mouse that came out to share the poet's meals, and of a flock of pigeons that alighted upon his shoulders when he went out to feed them.² Since Delaplaine's book was published in 1815, the author had an opportunity to collect anecdotes from Hopkinson's wife and children, who might have told him these stories. The incidents themselves, however, are too hackneyed to be very impressive.

That Hopkinson was kind to the weak and helpless we can believe without resorting to these apocryphal legends, because we know that he was kind to children. In 1764 the vestry of Christ Church gave him a vote of thanks for the "great and constant pains" he had taken in teaching the children to sing.³ On December 31, 1783, though "much indisposed," he played the piano while a party of children danced the old year out. On February 18, 1784, Jefferson thanked him for his kindness to little Martha Jefferson, who had been one of the New Year's party.⁴ The character suggested by these incidents is definitely attributed to Hopkinson by a competent witness. In a letter to her mother, written from Cambridge on April 7, 1776, Mary Morgan made this comment about a gentleman whom she had recently met:

. . . Dr Lloyd is very much like my ever dear Brother Francis, not the least in his person but exceedingly in his manner particularly so when he has his children about him, being just such another affectionate

¹ *Caspina's Letters*, nos. viii and x.

² *Repository of the Lives and Portraits of Distinguished Americans*, II, 138.

³ See p. 70.

⁴ See pp. 334-35.

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father as my dear Brother is. You may be sure this notion of mine renders the D^r not a bit the less agreeable, indeed if there was no other reason for my partiality I should love to be often in his Company.¹

Hopkinson's professional standing is indicated by the positions that he held. He was appointed judge of admiralty in 1779, and was reappointed in 1780 and 1787. In 1780 he was impeached for misconduct in office, but after a trial before the Supreme Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania he was completely exonerated. In 1789 Washington appointed him judge of the newly established United States District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. In 1790 the University conferred upon him the degree of LL.D.

Hopkinson's legal knowledge was evidently respected by his associates. In the summer of 1789, when Congress was reorganizing the judiciary system of the country, his advice was sought by those who framed the bill establishing the new courts. On July 3 Robert Morris informed him that some of his suggestions had been presented to the Senate "with effect." Morris evidently sympathized with Hopkinson's ambition to be a judge in the new federal court, for he wrote:

I have coupled a sentiment with my Friendship for you, that justifies me to myself for any Attempt I can make to serve you; it is that by promoting your Views in the Judiciary line I shall promote the Services of that Country which sent me here.²

Washington's statement that in nominating persons to fill offices in the Judicial Department he had chosen characters that would "give stability and dignity to our na-

¹ Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

² Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq. In this letter Morris remarks sarcastically that Hopkinson has shown himself to be a true man of genius by sending him a confidential letter written on the back of a sheet containing remarks on a public business intended for the inspection of many people.

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tional Government," was not a mere compliment. Hopkinson's reputation among his contemporaries amply justified his appointment; moreover, his prestige has not diminished with the passing of time. Judge Thomas Bee, of South Carolina, who in 1810 published a book of *Reports of Cases Adjudged in the District Court of South Carolina*, considered Hopkinson's decisions so important that he republished twenty of them as an appendix to his work. An examination of the Supreme Court decisions handed down since Hopkinson's day shows that his judgments have frequently been cited by eminent jurists. *Shepard's Federal Citations* contains more than one hundred references to his decisions—one made as recently as 1904.¹ His reputation among lawyers of the present is summed up in these words of Hampton L. Carson, Esq.:

It is a high tribute to the judicial knowledge, impartial conduct and correct judgment of Judge Francis Hopkinson, of the Admiralty Court of Pennsylvania, that out of forty-nine cases, in which he has reported his decrees, and the reasons upon which they were based, but nine appeals were taken, and in eight of these he was sustained.²

Though Hopkinson's legal essays grew out of a personal quarrel, and though they discuss problems of local and temporary interest, they contain material that is of permanent value. By protesting against the attempts of judges to dominate juries, he called attention to a peril that is ever present in a democracy—the danger that one department of government may usurp the powers of another. In his "Specimen of a Modern Law-Suit" he satirizes the redundancy of legal phraseology, the slowness of court procedure, and the absurdity of judges and lawyers who regard

¹ *Op. cit.* (4th ed.), pp. 701-2. See also Richard Peters, *Admiralty Decisions in the District Court of the United States for the Pennsylvania District*, pp. 500-501.

² *The Supreme Court of the United States*, I, 63.

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the observance of technicalities as being more important than the administration of equity and justice.

Hopkinson's scientific work was more ingenious than important. His improvements of the harpsichord and candlestick were useful in their day, but since the harpsichord has been superseded by the piano, and since the candlestick has become an object of ornament rather than use, they have given him no great permanent fame as an inventor. Of more value to science than his investigations was the help and encouragement that he gave to the American Philosophical Society, an institution that has been an important factor in American scientific progress.

Abundant evidence has already been produced to show that Hopkinson's musical abilities were highly esteemed by his contemporaries. That the popular opinion was shared, at least to some extent, by musicians is suggested by the fact that "*William Brown*, in 1787, composed and published 'Three Rondos for the Pianoforte,' which he *Humbly dedicated to the Honorable Francis Hopkinson, Esqr.*"¹

The permanent value of Hopkinson's work as a composer has been justly estimated by Mr. Sonneck:

As a composer Francis Hopkinson did not improve greatly during the thirty years which separate this song collection [*Seven Songs*] from his earliest efforts. His harmony is still faulty at times, and he possesses not an original musical profile. To claim the adjective of beautiful or important for these songs or his other compositions would mean to confuse the standpoint of the musical critic with that of the antiquarian. But even the critic who cares not to explain and pardon shortcomings from a historical point of view will admit that Hopkinson's songs are not without grace and that our first poet-composer obeyed the laws of musical declamation more carefully than a host of fashionable masters of that period. Artistically, of course, he resembles his contemporaries. His musical world, like theirs, was an untrue Arcadia,

¹ Mr. O. G. Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson*, p. 58.

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populated with over-sentimental shepherds and shepherdesses, or with jolly tars, veritable models of sobriety and good behavior, even when filling huge bumpers for drinking-bouts. Then again we notice in Francis Hopkinson's music the studied simplicity of that age for which treble and bass had become the pillars of the universe.

This and much more is antiquated to-day. But why should we criticize at all our first "musical compositions"? It becomes us better to look upon these primitive efforts as upon venerable documents of the innate love of the American people for the beauties of music and as documents of the fact that among the Signers of the Declaration of Independence there was at least one who proved to be a "SUCCESSFUL PATRON OF ARTS AND SCIENCES."^{*}

The publication in 1905 of Mr. Oscar G. Sonneck's *Francis Hopkinson, the First American Poet-Composer* brought about a very considerable revival of interest in Hopkinson's musical compositions. In 1919 two albums, each containing six of Hopkinson's songs, edited for modern use by Mr. Harold Vincent Milligan, were published by the Arthur P. Schmidt Company, of Boston. The first volume, which bears the title *The First American Composer. Six Songs by Francis Hopkinson*, contains "My Days Have Been So Wondrous Free," from the 1759 manuscript volume now owned by the Library of Congress, and the following selections from *Seven Songs*: "O'er the Hills Far Away," "Beneath a Weeping Willow's Shade," "Come, Fair Rosina," "My Generous Heart Disdains," and "The Traveller Benighted and Lost." The second, *Colonial Love Lyrics. Six Songs by Francis Hopkinson*, includes "The Garland" and "With Pleasure Have I Passed My Days," from the 1759 volume; "Give Me Thy Heart," from the *Columbian Magazine* of August, 1789; and "See, Down Maria's Blushing Cheek," "Enraptured I Gaze," and "My Love Has Gone to Sea," from *Seven Songs*. In

^{*} Sonneck, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-16.

5. H. *My Days have been as wandering feet* 60

My days have been as wandering feet

little birds thronged into every tree from tree to tree were but as dead as I, were but as dead as I

but gliding shadows of a fear of mine entered their hearts & with the

brushing folds of even time a sigh to them I sent a sigh to them.

This is a handwritten musical score on aged paper. It features six systems of music, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The notation is in treble and bass clefs with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written in cursive and are somewhat faded. The paper shows signs of age, including discoloration and some wear at the edges.

THE FIRST AMERICAN SONG

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1920 the "Ode from Ossian's Poems," edited and harmonized by Mr. Carl Deis, was published by G. Schirmer, Inc., of New York.

Since the appearance of the volumes of Mr. Milligan and Mr. Deis, selections from Hopkinson's musical works have frequently appeared on concert programs. The first modern singer to use one of Hopkinson's songs in a public recital was Miss Kitty Cheatham, who, according to a letter which she wrote to Mr. Edward Hopkinson on February 19, 1926, sang "My Days Have Been So Wondrous Free" in the State College at Winona, Minnesota, "just precedent to the publication of Mr. Milligan's collection. This event," continues Miss Cheatham, "is important, because it was I who *first* sang the beloved little song *in public* there, in its arranged form." Since that time, the song has appeared frequently on Miss Cheatham's programs. On April 18, 1925, she sang it in Carnegie Hall, New York, and on July 9, 1925, in Aeolian Hall, London. Recently she has been broadcasting it over the radio. On the evening of May 28, 1919, the New York Symphony Orchestra gave a "Hopkinson Memorial" concert, "tendered to Mr. Harold V. Milligan," at which Miss Litta Grimm, soprano, sang "My Days Have Been So Wondrous Free." At this concert Mrs. Florence Scovel Shinn, a great-granddaughter of the composer, and Mr. Edward Hopkinson, a great-grandson, were among the guests of honor. On February 15, 1923, at the Town Hall, New York, Mr. Milligan himself appeared as pianist in a recital entitled "Three Centuries of American Song," in which two selections from Hopkinson's works were rendered. During the last six years the Pennsylvania Society of Colonial Dames of America has sponsored three recitals in which some of Hopkinson's songs were sung. Two of these performances

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were given in Philadelphia, on November 12, 1919, and April 27, 1922; the third was given at Merion, on October 15, 1925. Selections from Hopkinson appeared on the programs of the *Matinée Musical Club* of Philadelphia, for January 20, 1920, and February 3, 1925. Since Hopkinson's songs are written with harpsichord accompaniments, Miss Frances Pelton-Jones, the harpsichordist, has made liberal use of them in her recitals, notably those given at Peoria, Illinois, on April 17, 1920, and in New York on January 23, 1920, and January 29, 1924. In addition to Hopkinson's own compositions, Miss Pelton-Jones has used selections from the harpsichord repertoire compiled by him¹ and played in his own concerts.

"My Days Have Been So Wondrous Free" appears more frequently on concert programs than any of Hopkinson's other songs. This is probably due to the fact that it is the oldest American song known. On the programs that the author of this work has seen, it appears eleven times. On these programs "The Garland" and "My Generous Heart Disdains" appear each three times; the "Ode from Ossian's Poems" and "O'er the Hills Far Away," twice; and "The Traveller Benighted and Lost" and "My Love Has Gone to Sea," once. The concerts and recitals mentioned here are only a few of those at which selections from Hopkinson's works have been rendered. All persons who make any pretense to having a musical education now know that Hopkinson was the first American poet-composer, and most of them are familiar with some of his songs. His musical reputation, therefore, is now secure, and is likely to grow rather than diminish as time goes on.

Several of Hopkinson's pictures have been preserved.

¹ In the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq.

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Mr. Edward Hopkinson has three of his pastels: a copy of Titian's "Judgment of Paris"; a copy of "Danae and the Shower of Gold";¹ and a picture of a nude figure, probably copied from an unidentified original, since it is labeled "classic subject." None of these is particularly noteworthy. Mrs. Francis Tazewell Redwood has a pastel portrait of his infant son,² a photograph of his portrait of his sister, Mary Morgan, and a life-size pastel of himself. The first of these is a stiff and amateurish piece of work, but the others are surprisingly good, especially the portrait of himself, which is evidently copied from the painting made by R. E. Pine.³ Mr. Edward Hopkinson has another excellent copy that Hopkinson made of this same portrait.⁴ The *American Historical Record* for March, 1874, contains a picture of Jacob Duché, which is accompanied by this explanatory note:

The above engraving of the portrait of Mr. Duché is from a drawing of him, in chalk, by Francis Hopkinson, and now in the possession of John A. McAllister, of Philadelphia, who received it from Richard Willing Oswald, a grandson of Colonel Eleazer Oswald, of the Continental Army. The grandmother of Mr. Oswald (whose family had possessed the picture for more than half a century), who died in Philadelphia in 1866, at the age of ninety-two years, and who was a friend and frequent visitor of Parson Duché, pronounced it the best likeness of him she had ever seen.

Hopkinson, of course, never pretended to be more than an amateur in art; nevertheless, his work, particularly the two

¹ In the *Hopkinson Collection*, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² James, the oldest child, who died on August 12, 1775, at the age of five years and ten months.

³ Miss Mary Roscoe Thayer, librarian of the Harvard Musical Association, has called my attention to the fact that Hopkinson in making the copy "restored" his hair. This is an amiable weakness, and one with which many will sympathize.

⁴ In the *Hopkinson Collection*, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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copies of the Pine portrait, shows that he possessed natural ability and that he had had a considerable amount of training.

In heraldry Hopkinson has, in the opinion of the author, the unique distinction of being the designer of the American flag.

Hopkinson's verse may be divided into three main groups: (1) occasional lyrics, such as elegies, birthday pieces, complimentary addresses, and college exercises; (2) "political ballads," written to check the despondency and arouse the fighting spirit of his countrymen during the Revolution; (3) songs for which he composed music.

The poems of the first group have little interest except to the biographer and historian. The subjects are ephemeral, the ideas commonplace, the treatment stiff and conventional. They have the virtues of clearness and simplicity, and they never offend the ear with lame meters and faulty rhymes; but they contain no haunting lines that linger in the memory of the reader and refuse to be forgotten.

The political ballads accomplished very effectively the purpose for which they were written. As they were published and republished in many papers throughout the Colonies, they were undoubtedly read by many people; and since they are in spirit uniformly good humored, courageous, and hopeful, they must have had a very salutary effect upon the minds of the readers. On one occasion, at least, a song of Hopkinson's was sung by the soldiers at the front.¹

One evidence of the effectiveness of Hopkinson's work is the response it drew from the enemy. The *Pennsylvania Ledger* would not have gone to so much trouble to correct the exaggerations of "The Battle of the Kegs," and the

¹ See p. 295.

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New York *Royal Gazette* would not have published the coarse parody on "The Temple of Minerva" if Hopkinson's verses had not injured the British morale. Another evidence is the praise his efforts received from the American leaders. Franklin carefully preserved as long as he lived the autograph copies of "Date Obolum Belesario" and "The Battle of the Kegs" that Hopkinson sent him. On March 6, 1780, he wrote, "I thank you for the political *Squibs*; they are well made. I am glad to find such plenty of good powder."¹ Jefferson, on July 6, 1785, showed his interest and appreciation by asking Hopkinson to send him a copy of "The Battle of the Kegs."²

That Hopkinson's influence was generally recognized is indicated by an anonymous poem, "On the Present Prospects of America," which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on August 2, 1788. In this rather uninspired production the author first asks whether the muses are going to fail to celebrate such an important event as the adoption of the Constitution, and then answers his own question as follows:

Honor forbids—and mid the wastes of time,
Protects from ruin that auspicious rhyme,
Which sang *The Roof*, as yet to song unknown,
And mingled all its praises with his own.
On that gay bosom, still, Oh Muses, smile,
Whose nervous verse adorned the stately pile,
Still as it rises, let his incense rise,
And let him taste the joy that never dies!

In short, there is little or no exaggeration in the following assertion, which appears in the biographical sketch written for the *Columbian Magazine* by Dr. Rush:

¹ See p. 280.

² See p. 345.

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It only remains to add to this account of Mr. Hopkinson, that the various causes which contributed to the establishment of the independence and federal government of the United States, will not be *fully traced*, unless much is ascribed to the irresistible influence of the *ridicule* which he poured forth, from time to time, upon the enemies of those great political events.

The songs, which make up the third group of Hopkinson's verse, may be dismissed very briefly. As lyrics they are in general superior to his occasional poems. In one or two instances, indeed, they show glints of real poetic beauty. As the work of the "first American poet-composer," moreover, they have a historical value which is unique.

Hopkinson's prose is much more distinguished than his verse. Schooled under such masters as Arbuthnot, Swift, Addison, Steele, and Fielding, he early acquired a style that combined simplicity, clearness, and vigor. These qualities are found even in his private letters, which are fully as interesting as any of his other writings. The prominence of the persons to whom many of them were written and the importance of the events narrated in them give them unusual historical value. The number and variety of subjects discussed make them appeal to many classes of readers; and their cordiality, humor, and freedom from affectation give them charm.

Hopkinson's literary essays, though too much like the English periodical essays to be very original, and too light in substance to be very significant, are well constructed, sprightly, and entertaining. It is to be regretted that the Revolution put an end to the career of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, in which most of them were published, and thus removed the author's incentive to continue this sort of writing, and that his later absorption in public affairs pre-

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vented his returning to this promising field, except on rare occasions.

With regard to Hopkinson's discussions of educational problems Dr. Rush made this comment:

Sometimes he employed his formidable powers of humour and satire in exposing the formalities of technical science. He thought much, and thought justly upon the subject of education. He often ridiculed in conversation the practice of teaching children the English language by means of grammar. He considered most of the years which are spent in learning the Latin and Greek languages as lost, and he held several of the arts and sciences which are still taught in our colleges, in great contempt. His specimen of modern learning, in a tedious examination, the only object of which was to describe the properties of a "salt-box," published in the American Museum for February 1787, will always be relished as a morsel of exquisite humour, while the present absurd modes of education continue to be practised in the United States.

The fact that Dr. Rush agreed with Hopkinson's educational theories probably caused him to overestimate their value. Few Latin teachers would agree with Hopkinson that "the Grammar should be the last Book put into the Learner's Hands," and most would question the practicability of his oral method of teaching the language. In general, however, his views have been adopted by educators in this country. Latin, though it still survives in a few sheltered spots, is dying by inches; Greek is now doubly a dead language; and at every educational convention some professor of pedagogy belabors the lifeless corpse of English grammar.

The effect of Hopkinson's satire on newspaper squabbles is thus described by Dr. Rush:

Newspaper scandal frequently for months together, disappeared or languished, after the publication of several of his irresistible satires upon that disgraceful species of writing. He gave a currency to a *thought* or

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phrase in these effusions from his pen, which never failed to bear down the spirit of the times, and frequently to turn the divided tides of party-rage, into one general channel of ridicule or contempt.

The accuracy of this statement can be verified. An examination of the Philadelphia press for the year 1780 shows that the newspaper quarrel between Dr. William Shippen and Dr. John Morgan came to an end on December 23, the day on which Hopkinson's "Proposal for Establishing a High Court of Honour" was published.

The bulk of Hopkinson's prose consists of political tracts written on a wide variety of subjects and employing many forms, of which the letter, the allegory, and the account of some fictitious discovery are perhaps the most conspicuous. Dr. Rush, who was evidently not very accurate in his use of dates, asserts that

. . . . he began in the year 1775, with a small tract which he entitled "a pretty story" in which he exposed the tyranny of Great Britain in America, by a most beautiful allegory, and he concluded his contributions to his country in this way with the history of "a new roof," a performance, which for wit, humour, and good sense, must last as long as the citizens of America continue to admire, and to be happy under, the present national Government of the united states.

What has already been said of the influence of Hopkinson's political ballads may be said with equal justice of the influence of his prose tracts.

After the publication of *The Miscellaneous Essays* in 1792 there appeared in the August number of the *Columbian Magazine* a review which contained this comment:

We are informed, in a note prefixed to the first volume, that the several pieces were prepared for the press by the author, before his death; and that they are now published from his manuscripts, in the dress in which he left them. But had he lived to superintend the publication of them himself, we think it probable that he would either have revised or expunged some of them, which were written to answer pur-

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poses of a temporary nature; and others, in which particular characters are severely satirized. In our opinion, these cast a shade over the splendour of his works. In justice to the memory of Mr. H. we shall state one fact, which supports our opinion, that sundry alterations would have been made, had he lived to revise his literary productions. The editor of a daily paper, which was established in this city some time after the publication of Mr. Hopkinson's celebrated allegory of "The New Roof," applied to him for a correct copy of the performance, which he proposed to insert in his gazette. Mr. H. complied with his request; but was particularly careful to strike out the concluding observations, in which he had burlesqued the ravings of a declamatory writer, in the public papers. This was certainly a judicious and laudable omission. For, besides that the name of the declamatory writer alluded to had become publicly known, the force and beauty of the allegory were diminished, by a conclusion which was beneath the dignity of that inimitable performance, and which had no immediate connection with it. And yet the allegory is now published in its original form; and accompanied with the essay which is the subject of the burlesque.

The reviewer's criticism is, on the whole, manifestly just. It is surprising that Hopkinson should have included in his collection a protest against the method of conducting a local election held in 1785 and an attack on a bill passed by the Pennsylvania legislature in 1786, and should have omitted a number of spirited Revolutionary ballads and the essay "Affectation." Nevertheless, there is little ground for the reviewer's assumption that Hopkinson, had he lived to superintend the publication of *The Miscellaneous Essays*, would have omitted or revised some of the material that appears in the collection, for the three volumes were printed from manuscripts which the author had carefully prepared for publication. Moreover, the fact that these manuscripts are almost free from deletions and corrections indicates that he had selected, revised, and arranged his material to his own satisfaction before transcribing it in the bound volumes in which has it been preserved.

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All the pieces selected for *The Miscellaneous Essays* were carefully revised by the author. The poems were slightly changed here and there; the literary essays were somewhat condensed; and the political tracts were toned down, so as "to blunt somewhat the edge of their sarcasms."¹ In general, the revised works are not superior to the originals; in many cases, indeed, they are decidedly inferior. The political writings suffered most in revision. The satirist who revises his works for the purpose of sparing the feelings of those he has attacked cultivates benevolence at the expense of his satire. Therefore, the student who would know the real Hopkinson must read his works in the newspapers and magazines in which they first appeared. Such was the view of Benson J. Lossing, who, when he republished *A Pretty Story* under the title *The Old Farm and the New Farm*, used the original version.

By his contemporaries Hopkinson was considered a genius of the first rank. Dr. Rush's biographical sketch, which has already been referred to several times, contains this estimate:

This gentleman possessed an uncommon share of genius of a peculiar kind. He excelled in music and poetry, and had some knowledge in painting. But these arts did not monopolize all the powers of his mind. He was well skilled in many practical and useful sciences, particularly mathematics and natural philosophy, and he had a general acquaintance with the principles of anatomy, chemistry, and natural history. But his *forte* was *humour* and *satire*, in both of which he was not surpassed by Lucian, Swift, or Rabelais. These extraordinary powers were consecrated to the advancement of the interests of patriotism, virtue, and science.

Along with Dr. Rush's tribute to his friend there appeared two elegiac poems inscribed to Hopkinson's memory. One, entitled "An Elegy," after referring most flat-

¹ Moses Coit Tyler, *The Literary History of the American Revolution*, II, 140.

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teringly to the professional reputation and private character of the deceased, continues:

What knowledge was withheld from him, whose mind
For universal science was designed?
He charmed the eye, and dignified the heart,
Blending the limnist's with the poet's art.
Fancy was ever present in his mind;
Whilst truth, wit, music, every thought refined.
Be harmony *his* meed, whose merits claim
From worldly harmony a lasting fame.
And be this line upon his tomb-stone writ—
The friend of virtue—and the friend of wit.

The other, "Lines Sacred to the Memory of the Honourable Francis Hopkinson," which, according to a note, was "written immediately after returning from the interment of his remains," ends with these words:

Yet let the bust be raised—and sculpture's art
Due tribute, science, to thy son impart.
Youth on the trophy shall with rapture gaze,
Soaring to virtue on the wings of praise.
Painting! exert thy imitative powers;
Display the sage reclined in learning's bowers;
Thou mournful muse! (since hushed is humour's vein)
Pour thy sad plaint in elegiac strain
And be this truth upon his marble writ—
He shone in virtue, science, taste, and wit.

The writer who published the review of *The Miscellaneous Essays* in the *Columbian Magazine* gives this general estimate of Hopkinson's work:

The leading characteristics of Mr. Hopkinson's writings are, extraordinary versatility of genius, combined with extensive science; brilliancy of imagination, connected with a sound judgment and good taste; and genuine humour, uncontaminated by that low and trifling species of wit, which can yield pleasure to none but vulgar and frivolous minds.

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Dr. Rush's sketch and the elegies contain some of the hyperbole usually found in such writings, but the review of *The Miscellaneous Essays* is a fair and impartial estimate of Hopkinson's rank and influence. Of the qualities enumerated, humor and versatility are the most conspicuous. Hopkinson's humor has individuality and charm. Among Revolutionary satirists he is conspicuous for his un-failing good nature. While others assailed the enemies of America with insult and abuse, he harried the foe with good-humored raillery. That he should have preserved his lightness of touch among such serious people as the American patriots and in such a grave crisis as the Revolution is in itself a distinction—perhaps even a mark of genius. To hail one of our writers as the American Lucian, Swift, or Rabelais is not the practice of modern critics. Hopkinson had qualities that may remind the reader of these or other satirists, but he had many other qualities that were original. In fact, he was too versatile to be tagged with any single word or phrase. In attainment he was an artist, a musician, and a scientist of acknowledged ability; a jurist of the first rank; and a distinguished man of letters. In character he was a man of clean life and firm integrity, a sincere and loyal friend, a fearless patriot, and a Christian gentleman.

APPENDIX

Professor Moses Coit Tyler years ago called attention to the fact that *The Miscellaneous Essays* contains only a fraction of the material that Hopkinson published during his lifetime. Mrs. Annie Russell Marble verified the truth of this statement by discovering in the *Pennsylvania Packet* a number of Hopkinson's writings not found in the collected works and not mentioned by earlier biographers. In the preceding pages his authorship of still other fugitive pieces has been established. So far, the author of this biography has mentioned only such writings as can be almost certainly traced to Hopkinson, or such as have already been attributed to him by others. There still remains, however, a considerable amount of material which is probably from his pen, but concerning which the evidence is not conclusive. Some of this material will be briefly mentioned here.

The problem of identifying Hopkinson's writings is made difficult by the fact that he used many pen-names. For example, to letters, essays, and poems that have been clearly identified as his he has affixed the following signatures:

A. B.	Caution	F. H.	One of the People
B.	Centinel	H.	Peter Grievous
Bob Jingle	Citizen	Jus.	Projector
C.	C. Philomenes	Lovelace	Silvester
C. D.	E. F.	Machiavel	A Tory
Calamus	Eudocia	Nitidia	X.
Calumniator	F.	Old Bachelor	

Of these pseudonyms the favorite is "A. B.," the signature that follows most of his contributions to the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, and many of his newspaper articles as well. Unfortunately for us, "A. B." is the first combination of letters that would occur to anyone desiring to sign an article with initials other than his own; hence this signature was as common as the modern "Taxpayer." On the other hand, Hopkinson used this nom de plume so regularly that he may have established a sort of title to it in the Philadelphia press.

In this Appendix are listed in chronological order a few letters, poems, and essays published in Hopkinson's day which contain some-

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thing to suggest his authorship. If the evidence is nothing but a signature, the selection is listed without comment. In cases where there is a more specific reason for believing the work to be his, the evidence is presented very briefly.

1758, June. *American Magazine*: "Properties of a Gardener," a humorous essay by "A. B."

1759, November 8. *Pennsylvania Gazette*: an unsigned poem "On the Death of the Much Lamented General Wolfe." In his poem "On the Late Successful Expedition against Louisburg," written in 1758, Hopkinson had said:

I to the list'ning world will soon proclaim
Of Wolfe's brave deeds the never-dying fame.

The poem on the death of Wolfe contains this line:

Had I *Duché's* or *Godfrey's* magic Skill.

These three lines make Hopkinson's authorship probable.

1768, May 19. *Pennsylvania Gazette*: an unsigned love poem to "Delia." During the summer and fall of 1768 Hopkinson was writing love poems to "Delia, pride of Borden's Hill."

1768, June 30. *Pennsylvania Gazette*: "Upon Miss L—g, a Young Lady from the Country," by "F. H." It was followed a week later by another poem addressed to the same lady, by "T. H." These verses, I think, were written by the Hopkinson brothers.

1768, August 18. *Pennsylvania Gazette*: an "Ode, Occasioned by the Death of a Late Amiable Young Lady," signed "H—n."

1772, February 3. *Pennsylvania Packet*: "The Wish," a love poem by "A. B."

1775, June. *Pennsylvania Magazine*: an unsigned poem "On Hearing the Rev. Mr. Duché on Good Friday and Easter Day."

1775, September. *Pennsylvania Magazine*: an unsigned poem written in imitation of "L'Allegro." The author states that once when on a sea voyage he responded to a request for a song by singing some lines from Milton's poem. When the audience complained that the song was too short, he improvised two more stanzas, both of which end in the couplet:

Let Delia listen to my tale
Under the hawthorn in the dale.

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Since Hopkinson had composed music, had been on a voyage, and had written a poem entitled "L'Allegro" and several poems addressed to "Delia," his authorship of these verses seems probable.

1775, November. *Pennsylvania Magazine*: a letter from "Susanna Trapes," on the unsanitary condition of the Philadelphia streets. This letter mentions particularly the condition of Front Street, the street on which Hopkinson kept shop before his removal to New Jersey. Later in "Dialogues of the Dead" Hopkinson discussed the same subject and mentioned the same street.

1775, December. *Pennsylvania Magazine*: a poem "To Eudocia," by "A. B." The verses are introduced by this note: "The following elegant stanzas were written some years since by a young Gentleman of this city; as they have never before appeared in print, they will doubtless be a welcome acquisition to your agreeable miscellany." In January, 1776, Hopkinson published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* "An Answer to the Riddle in the November Magazine," signed "Eudocia." In "Affectation," published in the same magazine in August, 1775, he names one of his characters Eudocius, and in "I've a Thought—What's It Like?" he has a character named Eudocius. It therefore seems not improbable that Hopkinson is the author of these "elegant stanzas."

1776, March. *Pennsylvania Magazine*: an article by "A. B." attempting to prove that since 1754 England had been trying to subjugate the Colonies by taxation.

1776, May. *Pennsylvania Magazine*: "An Account of a Remarkable Fish," by "A. B."

1777, September 3. *Pennsylvania Gazette*: an article by "A. B." attacking speculators.

1778, January 21. *Pennsylvania Packet*: a patriotic poem by "A. B.," beginning:

Behold Oppression with her *royal* hand
Stalks shameless forth, and desolates the land.

1778, April 22. *Pennsylvania Packet*: "The Independent Whig," by "A. B." The article begins: "I intend in the course of a few numbers to prove that the professions of reconciliation which the British Ministry are now making can proceed only from a conviction of the impossibility of succeeding in the war." The series, however, was not continued.

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- 1778, October 12. *Pennsylvania Packet*: a letter from "A. B." defending the oath of allegiance.
- 1778, November 19. *Pennsylvania Packet*: an article by "A. B." showing that the English prejudice against the French and Spanish is unjustified.
- 1779, February 9. *Pennsylvania Packet*: a letter from "A. B." criticizing the spirit shown by Chief Justice Thomas McKean in his quarrel with General Charles Thompson.
- 1779, May 13. *Pennsylvania Packet*: a letter from "A. B." defending Moses Franks and the jury that had acquitted him of high treason.
- 1779, September 18. *Pennsylvania Packet*: a letter from "A. B." on the duties of consuls.
- 1781, February 10. *Pennsylvania Packet*: a letter from "A. B." commending Congress for "putting a man at the head of each of the great departments, viz. the treasury, the admiralty, the board of war, and foreign affairs."
- 1781, February 13. *Pennsylvania Packet*: an article by "A. B." concerning rumored troubles in the Bank of England.
- 1781, August 2. *Pennsylvania Packet*: an announcement of a series of letters from "A. B." advocating a stronger central government. The series was discontinued after the first number.
- 1782, March 29. *Freeman's Journal*: a letter from "A. B." urging the people of America to produce everything they need.
- 1782, May 29. *Freeman's Journal*: a letter from "A. B." urging the Americans to build blockade-runners.
- 1782, June 15. *Pennsylvania Packet*: a reply by "A Lover of Candour" to "An Enemy of Extortion," who on June 5 had attacked the Commissioners of the State for framing a law which provided that delinquent taxpayers should be fined. Mrs. Marble attributes this to Hopkinson.
- 1782, September 11. *Freeman's Journal*: an attack by "A. B." on a pamphlet, "Salvation for All Men." A reply from the author of the pamphlet and another article by "A. B." were published on November 23.
- 1783, December 10. *Freeman's Journal*: a letter from "One of the People" protesting against the admission to the Supreme Court of persons who have been residents of the country for only one year.

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- 1784, February 18. *Pennsylvania Gazette*: a reply by "A. B." to "One of the Majority," who had charged the assembly with inefficiency. A second letter from "A. B." appeared on April 28.
- 1784, June 19. *Pennsylvania Packet*: a letter from "A. B. C." suggesting that the people of Philadelphia build a "large elegant air balloon." The suggestion was discussed in subsequent issues of the paper.
- 1785, February 11. *Pennsylvania Packet*: a letter from "A. B." pointing out that the state is under obligation to pay its debts.
- 1785, March 22. *Pennsylvania Packet*: a poem, "The Telescope, the Microscope, and the Mirror," by "A. B."
- 1785, May 27. *Pennsylvania Packet*: a letter from "A. B." praising C. W. Peale's "third Exhibition of his new Paintings, with Changeable Effects."
- 1785, June 4. *Pennsylvania Packet*: a letter from "One of the People" suggesting that the remedies for hard times are industry, frugality, and temperance.
- 1785, September 9. *Pennsylvania Packet*: a letter from "A. B." recommending that magistrates be paid respectable salaries, "thus removing them from all inducements to encourage litigation or grind the faces of the poor by legal extortion."
- 1786, May 29. *Pennsylvania Packet*: an answer to those who complain about hard times, by "A. B."
- 1786, July 21. *Pennsylvania Packet*: comments by "A. B." on an article entitled "Thoughts on Paper Money" that had appeared in the *Packet*.
- 1786, August 23. *Pennsylvania Packet*: a petition requesting the assembly not to incorporate the city of Philadelphia, submitted for publication by "A. B."
- 1786, September 27. *Pennsylvania Packet*: a letter from "One of the People" protesting against the incorporation of Philadelphia.
- 1786, October 11. *Pennsylvania Gazette*: an article against paper money, by "A. B."
- 1786, December. *Columbian Magazine*: a poem by "A. B.," "To a Lady," who had reproached the author with want of attachment, because he had never written verses in her praise.

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1787, March. *Columbian Magazine*: an "Epigram":

Says Jack to Tom, you're a rogue and a cheat;
Says Tom to Jack, you're a rascal compleat.
Quoth Richard, the truth of the proverb I see,
That two of a trade can never agree.'

This is printed on the same page with "To Myrtilla; the Nest," and "The Birds, the Beasts, and the Bat"; all three are signed "H."

1787, October. *American Museum*: a letter from "One of the People" "To the Freemen of Pennsylvania," in favor of the Federal Constitution.

1788, January 9. *Pennsylvania Gazette*: a letter from "One of the People" arguing that a bill of rights is not necessary in the constitution of a democratic government.

1789, April 1. *Pennsylvania Gazette*: a letter from "A. B." recommending a new state constitution.

1789, October. *American Museum*: a story by "A. B." illustrating the consequences of a vicious life.

1789, November 20. *Pennsylvania Packet*: a letter from "A. B." urging that interest due on the public debt be paid.

1790, March. *American Museum*: a story by "A. B." relating the experiences of a soldier who had suffered much hardship in the service of his country.

1790, March. *Columbian Magazine*: a description of a new oil lamp invented by the writer, and made by Jacob Rizer, opposite the Methodist church on Fourth Street. The fact that the notice is signed "F. H." makes Hopkinson's authorship almost certain.

1790, September 1. *Pennsylvania Gazette*: a letter from "A. B." urging the city to donate to the United States ground on which to build a Federal Hall for Congress and a residence for the President.

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¹ The society has an old commonplace book, made by George Rutter, which contains handwritten copies of "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso."

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¹ These are the most important collections. For other collections containing Hopkinson letters see the "Complete Sets of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence," published in the *Collector*, New York, in June, 1918, and in the *Publishers' Weekly*, New York, on October 1, 1921.

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^{*} The metrical version of the Psalms is by Hopkinson.

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¹ Hopkinson asserts that this ode "and also one in the German Lan-
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eral Procession.

² Only outside dates are given here; for specific dates see the preceding pages.

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Philadelphia, 1754¹

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¹ See p. 486.

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